Lessons Of Elections In France And Italy

— See Page 3 —

Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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POLL SHOWS LABOR FIRM IN DEMAND FOR PAY RISE

Real Estate Profiteers Get 2 Rent Boosts

By Ruth Benson

Real estate sharks got another big bite of the workers' income last week, as the OPA and Truman's new Housing Expediter announced generous gifts to the profiteering landlords. From now on, said the OPA on Dec. 26, owners of converted dwellings can extort an extra $4 a month over ceiling rates on "comparable" quarters, for every $1,000 they spend on conversions. And, owners of new rental properties, Expediter Frank R. Creedon declared on Dec. 23, could henceforth add "service charges" up to $3 a room per month, to their rental ceilings!

But these two gifts from Wall Street's government to the landlords and construction industries, are only whetting their appetites for more. It is a foregone conclusion that Congress will try to go even further in the coming weeks, either by raising all rent ceilings 10 to 15 per cent, or by totally abolishing rent controls. Millions of homeless veterans and workers, in dire need of low-cost, low-rent housing, will be caught in the squeeze-play.

As the housing shortage grows more acute, veterans and workers cannot afford to build. Even the previous $10,000 ceiling has been removed from new homes. They cannot compete for materials with builders of fancy night clubs, movie castles, and racetracks.

The result, as the Wall Street magazine **Business Week** admitted in its Dec. 28 issue, is that "substantial expansion" in commercial, rather than residential, building will account for most of the construction in the coming year.

But the militant working class is not going to quietly accept the gouging policies of the landlords, builders, and Congress. Mass actions against evictions are already underway. One of the first demonstrations came on Dec. 27, when 2,500 men and women in Brooklyn fought police squads evicting a family of three from their apartment at 350 Bedford Ave.

News of the eviction had brought neighbors thronging to the street. The Tenants' League of the American Labor Party called a street meeting before the building. Police finally succeeded in breaking up the demonstration and arresting two speakers, Marion Drucker and veteran Phil Schinler.

Similar demonstrations, better organized and based upon committees including the trade unions, can halt the rent profiteers in the future.

'46 Price Rise Highest Since First World War

The biggest rise in prices since World War I took place in 1946, according to a report released Dec. 29 by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Prices of food in retail grocery stores soared 34 per cent. This advance in the most important item in the average worker's budget is ten times the rises in the three preceding war years. Wholesale prices of food skyrocketed even higher — 50 per cent in 1946.

Consumer prices for all items the Bureau considers part of a family budget jumped 18 per cent during 1946.

These statistics, of course, are heavily weighted on the conservative side. Actual boost in prices of the most necessary consumer items during 1946 were far above these latest figures admitted by the Bureau, as any housewife can testify.

Labor Department officials emphasized that there is no prospect of a general lowering of prices. The few "cracks" in prices that have appeared, said these officials, represent "merely seasonal adjustments and stock clearance in advance of new shipments of merchandise."

30% Pay Rise Feasible, CIO Figures Show

Committee Cites Increasing Productivity

Labor productivity has increased so much that corporations can today afford to pay 30 per cent more in wages and still maintain their tremendous wartime profits, without increasing prices. This was pointed out by the CIO wage research committee last week, in a statement adding that such a 30 per cent pay boost would still leave corporation profits at double the pre-war rates.

The tremendous increase in labor productivity, the CIO pointed out, is due to the use of former war plants and improved techniques.

The plants were built and paid for by the government out of taxes drained from the working people. Billions of dollars worth of industrial buildings, equipped with the most modern machinery, were handed to the profiteers as a gift from the Wall Street government when the war ended.

Today, even though many of the plants are idle, profits after taxes are 50 per cent higher than wartime figures, while the workers are suffering a constantly decreasing standard of living.

Capitalists Press For Law Against Portal Back Pay

Big Business is high-pressuring a drive for immediate action by Congress to halt the tide of suits for portal-to-portal back pay earned during the past eight years.

Wall Street's Congressmen have responded with assurances that they are diligently preparing "emergency legislation."

The Chamber of Commerce is spear-heading the capitalist campaign. The Chamber wants to legalize non-payment of wages for work performed under the portal-to-portal heading. The Chamber wants the Fair Labor Standards Act "amended" so that it will no longer cover such work. It wants double liabilities eliminated in cases where employers are convicted, and it wants to legalize "compromise" settlements that would give up such back wages due workers.

Another move under way is to provide tax rebates to employers wherever workers manage to get a court settlement for back pay due them. As if this were not enough, Big Business is feeling out sentiment for a new Supreme Court decision that would be adverse to labor on the portal-to-portal pay issue.

KNIFING LABOR

In the heat of this drive, the Chamber of Commerce ran into a welcome ally in **Labor**, weekly organ of the reactionary bureaucracy at the head of 15 railroad unions. **Labor** called the portal-to-portal suits nothing but a CIO "ballyhoo stunt."

The capitalist press played up this stab in labor's back on the front page, quoting the article approvingly along with the publicity hand-outs of the Chamber of Commerce.

What this lickspittle sheet is afraid of can easily be seen. The railway workers too want whatever portal-to-portal pay is due them. That is why, like a company-union rag, **Labor** argued such suits are "unfair to employers."

Open The Books!

Workers Are Not Impressed By Wall Street Propaganda

American labor is hardening its front in the struggle for new wage increases to keep up with rising living costs. The barrage of capitalist propaganda denouncing further wage rises has only made the average worker more grimly determined to defend the standard of living of his family.

This is graphically revealed by a recent Gallup poll which asked: "Labor leaders say that because of the increased cost of living since the raise in wages of last spring, workers should be given another wage increase of about 20 per cent. Do you agree or disagree with this?"

Among "manual workers," 54 per cent agreed, only 36 per cent disagreed, and 10 per cent expressed no opinion. Among union members the percentages were still more eloquent. Sixty-two per cent agreed, a bare 31 per cent disagreed and 7 per cent expressed no opinion.

These figures show that the average worker has not been taken in by the capitalist propaganda. The worker has a simple but exceedingly accurate way of judging the truth or falsity of the contention that he doesn't need a wage boost. He measures how far his wages spread across prices in the grocery store and butcher shop.

But in addition to this rule of thumb, the CIO has established beyond reasonable dispute in the Nathan report that industry, now shaking down profits far in excess of the lush war years, can easily take care of a 25 per cent wage increase. This should clinch labor's case.

However, capitalist spokesmen are ranting that the conclusions of the Nathan report are not justified. They advance the long-ago exploded argument that wage rises will lead to price rises, although wage rises actually only cut into profits. They argue that the present profit-gouging is "normal." They advance the hoary contention that the capitalist must have an "adequate incentive" in the form of super-profits. Flying in the face of facts, they try to make out that business cannot "afford" higher wages.

In this nation-wide debate, the unions have not yet advanced the powerful slogan which the General Motors workers found so effective last year: "Open the books!" But the entire logic of the struggle calls for its revival. If Big Business claims the conclusions of the Nathan report are not justified, let them open their books so the public can see.

If the CIO, AFL and independent unions are permitted to dig into company records they can establish irrefutably whether or not Big Business is lying when it talks about inadequate profits and inability to pay.

The truth is that the giant inter-locking monopolies do not dare to open their books to inspection. The exposure of their super-profits would wreck their propaganda beyond all repair!

French Drive Aims At Crushing Indo-China's Fight For Freedom

Understanding that the future of all its colonies is at stake, French imperialism is throwing everything it has into the suppression of the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence: crack troops, including members of Hitler's Army who have been recruited into the Foreign Legion; air, naval and armored forces collected from all parts of the Empire; and first-class fighting equipment, most of it lend-lease in origin and American in manufacture.

Simultaneously, the French government announced a "harder" policy. Premier Leon Blum declared that there will not even be any negotiations with the Indo-Chinese until "order" is restored in that country — that is, until the French imperialists have established enough power there to put over any kind of "settlement" they want.

The present outbreak represents a new stage in imperialist France's reconquest of Indo-China. Last March Paris agreed to a referendum in Cochin-China to determine if that province wished to join the Viet Minh Republic. In violation of this agreement, the French installed a puppet government in Cochin-China to guarantee a favorable outcome to any "referendum."

In addition, the French have been bringing in troops, consolidating their positions and preparing to drown the entire independence movement in blood.

Indo-Chinese preparations to ward off the coming assault provided the pretext for the new thrust. In a Christmas Day message in Saigon the French butcher, Admiral d'Argenlieu, bluntly stated: "France does not intend in the present stage of evolution of the Indo-Chinese people to give them total and unconditional independence . . ."

But the Indo-Chinese people are defending themselves heroically. It is this fact which enrages the French butchers. They know that prolonged Indo-Chinese resistance can inspire similar rebellions in other colonies of the empire, particularly North Africa.

Even more important, a protracted struggle will bring into the picture the French masses themselves, whose sympathies are all with the colonial slaves. And that would surely spell the end of the French Empire.

See Page 3 for article on the Indo-Chinese policy followed by the French Communist and Socialist Parties.

Military Jim Crow Challenged in Court

An injunction suit to stop all further enlistments into the Army until Jim-Crow segregation is banned, was filed in Federal court on Dec. 18 by Henry D. Stewart of Pittsburgh. His son was refused enlistment because he was a Negro.

Meeting Will Protest Eviction Of 2,234 Families In Harlem

By Milton Richardson

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 — A mass meeting protesting the threatened eviction of 2,234 Harlem families has been called for Friday, Jan. 3, 8 p.m. at the Universal Church of Christ, 40 West 115th St., by the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The New York City Housing Authority has ordered these Harlem families to move out of their homes by Feb. 20, or face eviction. The Housing Authority is trying to throw them into the streets in the middle of winter in order to clear the area for the Stephen Foster Housing Project.

No one will deny that the tenements in which these people live should have been torn down years ago. The proposed housing project has long been a crying necessity for the tenants of Harlem. But if this housing project is to be built at the expense of the immediate housing necessities of the people now living in the area, the purpose of such a project is defeated.

The Housing Authority suggested to these "displaced persons" that they find substitute housing, by moving over into New Jersey, or into less populous sections of this state. And this regardless of where the people are employed or where they prefer to live.

Whole sections of New York City which should be torn down and rebuilt are allowed to remain —garnering profits for the landlords, disease and misery for the tenants. But until satisfactory housing can be provided for families living in such sections, there is no justification whatever for tearing down the only homes they have.

The city could provide adequate housing for these threatened families. The city owns many hundreds of houses which could be utilized. The city or the state could requisition the boarded-up mansions of the non-resident rich, using them to at least temporarily house families now living in the buildings to be torn down. It could build on vacant sites first.

But what sounds perfectly reasonable here would be labeled "ridiculous" and "impossible" by the City Fathers, who are busily carrying out the orders of their Wall Street and Park Avenue rulers.

DESPERATE PLIGHT

The great majority of the families living on the site of the Stephen Foster Housing Project face an additional hardship. Since most of them are Negro families, already segregated into overcrowded ghetto sections, a more difficult problem is created for them than for white families forced to move.

It is useless here to speak of the personal suffering these evictions will bring with them to the elderly people, the pregnant mothers, the children, the veterans, who are losing the only homes they know. This is not a time for sympathy — but a time for all of the residents of Harlem to unite together in a fight against these arbitrary evictions!

Only organized, united action on the part of Harlem tenants can halt the evictions and force the city to provide homes for the workers. The Socialist Workers Party protest meeting is the first step toward such action.

SWP Scores Paris Police Raid On Indo-China Protest Meeting

Text of a letter to Leon Blum, Premier of France, sent by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Dec. 27:

Leon Blum, Premier
Paris, France

The Socialist Workers Party vigorously condemns the action of your government in arbitrarily banning and breaking up a December 6 mass meeting in Paris, organized by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Section of the Fourth International) to protest the slaughter of the Indo-Chinese people by French imperialism.

When the police charged into the crowd, a number of North Africans and Indo-Chinese as well as members of the PCI suffered injuries and were arrested. This brutal police action shows what contempt the present French government holds for democracy.

Equally outrageous was the "legal pretext" for prohibiting the protest meeting—ordinances dating back to Napoleon Bonaparte and to Napoleon III, predecessor of the modern fascist dictators. These laws, enacted for the express purpose of violating democratic rights, are no less reactionary today when employed by a government in which the Socialist and Communist Parties participate.

The denial of the right of workers to assemble and make public their grievances can pave the way for a fascist regime or military dictatorship in France.

The Socialist Workers Party is calling this attack on civil liberties to the attention of the whole American labor movement. The interests of the American workers are involved wherever a threat to democratic rights occurs. The American workers are gravely concerned about the attack on democratic rights in Paris and about the brutal repression of the heroic Indo-Chinese struggle for independence.

James P. Cannon,
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Labor Party Campaign Gains More Support In Flint Area

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 28 — Rapid headway toward a Labor Party is being made here, with meetings of 46 districts in the Chevrolet plants scheduled daily for the purpose of electing district Labor Party organizers, who will constitute a policy-making body for the proposed Labor Party in the Sixth Congressional District.

The organizers are already signing up all Chevrolet workers who are in support of building a Labor Party. Their work is built around the keynote slogan, "Fight Reaction with Independent Political Action. Build a Labor Party Now."

The resources of the large GM locals in Flint are being swung behind this important political development. The movement got underway early this month, when UAW Chevrolet Local 659, at its regular membership meeting on Dec. 8, passed a resolution calling for a full-time organizer and a committee of 10 to direct the work of organizing a Labor Party in the Sixth District.

One week later, on Dec. 15, UAW Buick Local 599 overwhelmingly adopted a resolution in favor of collaborating with the Chevrolet Local 659 committee, and to set up a similar 10-man committee. These are the two largest General Motors locals in the city.

Now it is reported that Fisher Body and A.C. Sparkplug locals will adopt similar proposals at their regular membership meetings in January. Verbal or written support has been expressed by all the top officers of the four GM locals. The editors of the four local union papers and the CIO Council's **Flint Weekly Review** will meet shortly to lay the groundwork for a broad educational campaign through the press.

The support of the Labor Party move is coming from many sectors, reflecting the deep reservoir of favorable sentiment in the ranks for independent political action. This is the first time a political issue in the UAW locals has cut across all factional lines, uniting all groups behind it. (The Stalinists are the only exception, but they are a negligible factor in the Flint labor movement)

The Trotskyists have played a notable role in the work of building a Labor Party. For three years they actively pushed this idea. For some time their drive was spearheaded by George "Scotty" Hunter, who was killed six weeks ago in a hunting accident. He had been an executive board member of the Flint Socialist Workers Party, and had written articles in the Chevrolet local paper advocating a Labor Party. His steady and persistent work was one of the factors that brought forth the new developments only one month after his death.

Opposition Hits CP Anti-Socialism

Previous articles in **The Militant** have reported the expulsion for "leftism" of entire branches of the American Communist Party (Stalinist). This "leftism" was primarily opposition to the Stalinist leaders' violations of the most elementary working class principles, above all their strike-breaking on the economic and political fields.

Thus, the CP machinists club in San Francisco was "liquidated" for refusing to organize a "rank-and-file" back-to-work movement during the joint AFL-CIO machinists strike. The entire executive board and many members of the leading CP group in the Bronx, the P.R. Club, were expelled because they mildly criticized the party's "unconditional support" of Mead and Lehman, Democratic Party candidates in the New York elections, who were conducting an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, war-mongering campaign.

However, the opposition groups which are organizing in the wake of these expulsions have not broken with the fundamental policies of reactionary Stalinism. In fact, they are seeking to prove they are the "best" Stalinists. They defend Stalin's murderous bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. They uphold his counter-revolutionary policies in Europe and Asia. They support his collaboration with the imperialist powers against the revolutionary masses. They justify the Communist party's betrayal of the American workers to Wall Street imperialism during World War II. They vie with the official CP leadership in red-baiting and slandering the genuine communists and revolutionary Marxists, the Trotskyists.

As yet, this opposition appears to be led by petty-bourgeois intellectual muddleheads like Ruth McKenny and Bruce Minton or former CP bureaucrats like Sam Darcy and William F. Dunne, whose opposition is largely motivated by clique differences long existing in the top CP circles.

Nevertheless, this left-Stalinist opposition has revealed in its documents, now in our possession, the profound disquiet in the working class layers of the Stalinist Party. Above all, the proletarian elements are disturbed by the party leadership's failure to advance a socialist program and its class collaboration with the political agents of U.S. imperialism.

This reaction to the reformist and class-collaborationist line of the present American Stalinist leaders is the more acute because of the campaign in the middle of 1945 leading to the expulsion of Earl Browder for "revisionism." This campaign was designed to make Browder the scapegoat for the previous line of open support to Wall Street and to make it appear that the new shift to the "left" was genuine. The shift was dictated by the Kremlin merely to bring pressure on U.S. imperialism after the end of the wartime honeymoon between Stalin and the "democratic" imperialists.

But the working class members of the CP took the shift for good coin. They expected the new leadership headed by William Z. Foster (the same as the old leadership minus Browder, Budenz and a couple of others) to conduct a struggle against capitalism and for socialism. They were quickly disillusioned.

One of the first signs of this disillusionment appeared during a municipal election campaign in the fall of 1945 in San Francisco. When the CP failed to run a candidate in its own name or put forward a program distinguishable from that of the capitalist party candidates, criticism was voiced.

In a document after they were expelled for this criticism, Frank and Anna Stout answered an attack against them by Max Weiss, a leading CP bureaucrat in California. They point out:

"In the course of the campaign questions were raised by comrades in the Party. Some questioned the nature of the program as one merely of what were termed 'reforms.' The non-partisan nature of the campaign was also mentioned. Some asked why the Party did not come forward more boldly and said that the face of the Party was hidden. It was asked: Now that we have rid ourselves of Browderism, why don't we more vocally advocate socialism?"

Analyzing Weiss's arguments, they contend he "places the issue as either, or. Either for socialism or for immediate demands. But not both . . . Weiss's position, like Browder's is that of making capitalism work, while projecting socialism into the distant future. It has nothing in common with Marxism."

The expelled executive committee of the Bronx P.R. Club, in "An S.O.S. To All Communists," even naively complains that "during the war, we had the opportunity to explain to a sympathetic America the meaning of Socialism. Browder scuttled this opportunity by pickling Socialism for the far off future. Except for a token sentence at the end of a speech the party leadership does the same now."

This reflects the typical confusion in the opposition groups. They fail to explain how the CP could whip up all-out support for Wall Street's war, campaign for the speed-up and no-strike pledge, maintain "national unity" with the capitalists — and at the same time fight for socialism.

(This is the third in a series of articles on the present crisis in the Communist Party.)

TRADE UNION NOTES

Progressive unionists throughout the country are watching closely the campaign of the Flint, Mich. auto workers to build a local Labor Party in the Sixth Congressional District. The movement was initiated by CIO United Auto Workers Chevrolet Local 659, which is going right into the ranks and organizing from the ground up. Local 659's 10-man committee to head the campaign says in its Declaration of Purpose:

"The purpose of the Committee is the organization of a Labor Party in the Sixth District with a clear cut political program which will struggle relentlessly in the interests of all who toil for a living in the shop, on construction jobs, on the farms, in small business and as professional workers. To this end we will run candidates in all future elections; men and women who subscribe to the program and policy of the Labor Party."

* * *

Strengthened by the CIO's declaration that "we resent and reject" the "interference of the Communist Party" — a declaration that the **Daily Worker** hailed as a "great and statesmanlike move"—the red-baiters in the CIO United Electrical Workers are making headway in important local unions.

UE Local 601 at Pittsburgh, largest Westinghouse unit, saw a reactionary group running on a program of anti-Communism oust the Stalinist leaders on Dec. 21. A similar group captured Local 203, representing 6,000 General Electric workers at Bridgeport, Conn. The Bridgeport red-baiters had previously unsuccessfully attempted to place on the ballot the question: "Would you allow a Communist to be an officer of the union?"

* * *

On Dec. 26, the country's oldest major strike, the CIO United Auto Workers' battle against J. I. Case farm machinery company at Racine, Wis., entered its second year. Strikes at five other Case plants have been settled.

On Dec. 19, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the company is responsible for provoking the strike because of its refusal to bargain collectively with the union within the terms of the Wagner Act. The company claimed the union's demands are in conflict with an agreement in a letter signed by the union—eight years ago!

* * *

Employer resistance to unionism is growing steadily. Recent figures issued by the NLRB show that in October there were more complaints filed against employers for unfair labor practices—566 total—than at any time since March 1936. The most frequent charge is "discrimination for union activity or membership."

* * *

In connection with the CIO United Auto Workers wage campaign, the UAW Executive Board at its recent meeting began a survey of local union strike funds, which Secretary - Treasurer George Addes estimates at "several million dollars." Due to the prolonged General Motors strike last spring, and the record J. I. Case and Allis-Chalmers strikes still in progress, the national strike fund is reported at a low of $400,000. Dues-paying membership has increased by more than 200,000 since July, to a total of 814,442 for November.

* * *

Hard-pressed public school teachers are on a rampage all over the country. Pawtucket, R. I. teachers walked out for two days. Hartford, Conn. teachers are threatening strike. In the past few months there have been 12 teachers' strikes, compared to 20 for all the years between 1870 and 1942. Three teachers' groups in New York City, including the AFL and CIO, have gone on record favoring strike action and opposing the no-strike policy. The new school curriculum is: "Readin', ritin', 'rithmatic and strikin'."

Curran Brands Stalinist CMU As Bar To Unity

By C. Thomas

The resignation of Joseph Curran as co-chairman of the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity has set aflame the smouldering internal struggle within the National Maritime Union, CIO, the largest seafaring union in the industry.

In a statement issued to the press, Curran charged the CMU with fostering jurisdictional warfare on the waterfront, strike-breaking and attempting to gain control of the National Maritime Union, of which he is president.

Stigmatizing the CMU as a barrier to united action in defense of the seamen, Curran called for joint action of all unions, regardless of affiliation, to

JOSEPH CURRAN

oppose the "vicious activities of the Coast Guard," to fight the imposition of anti-labor maritime laws and to unite in action "for the purpose of getting the best possible wages, hours and conditions for all seamen without regard to affiliation."

The Stalinist NMU officials countered with public statements condemning Curran's action and calling for continued affiliation and support to CMU and its policies. Joseph Stack, Vice President, accused Curran of "mutiny against the maritime workers," and "treason against the membership of the National Maritime Union."

Of the six national officers of the NMU, three are outright Stalinists and three support the Curran position. A special emergency meeting of the NMU National Council has been called for Jan. 6, "for the purpose of discussing: (1) The CMU; (2) The resignation of co-chairman Curran; and (3) The issues surrounding that resignation." Meanwhile the controversy has been taken to the ranks where the final decision will be made.

TO THE RANKS

The Committee for Maritime Unity was established at a conference held last May in San Francisco, at which the CIO Maritime unions plus the independent Pacific Coast Marine Firemen were represented. It was only at the insistence of the Marine Firemen that an invitation was dispatched, at the tail-end of the conference, asking the AFL unions to participate. This invitation was summarily rejected.

The leaders of the AFL looked upon the CMU as a hostile organization aimed at raiding their jurisdiction. They countered by calling a meeting of AFL maritime unions and established a Maritime Trades Department in preparation for jurisdictional warfare.

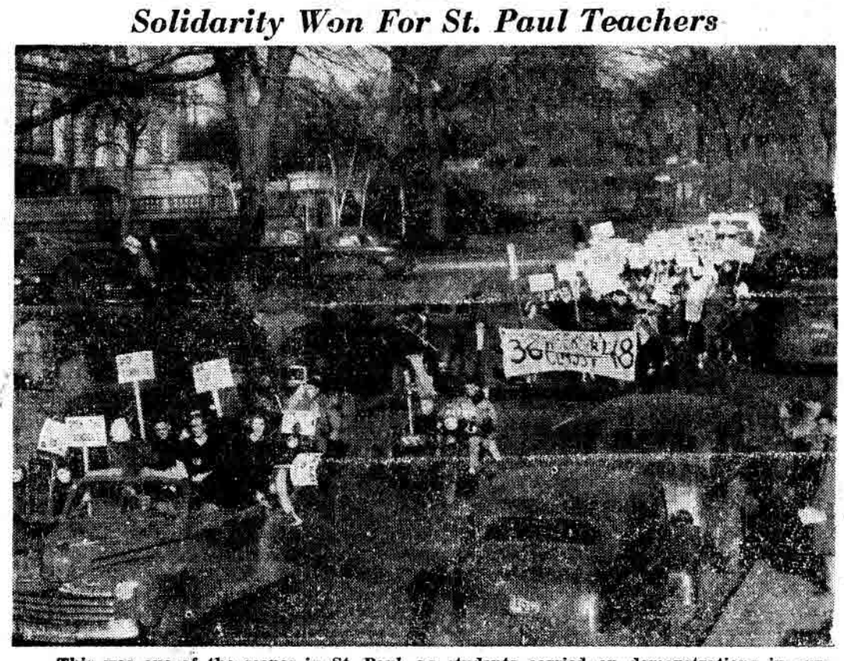
FIREMEN OUT

In the meantime, the leaders of the independent Marine Firemen had a change of heart and came out against affiliation to the CMU. While the question is now being decided by referendum vote of the membership, it is conceded that the Firemen will reject affiliation by a substantial majority.

With the Firemen out, the CMU would comprise a federation of CIO maritime unions confronting the AFL Maritime Trades Department in hostile array, with only a large enough spark required to explode the powder keg of jurisdictional war on the waterfront.

It was against this background, and at a time when the shipowners and their political agents in Washington are preparing to scuttle the maritime unions, that the Curran statement came to upset the calculations and plans of those who were heading the seamen into a storm of jurisdictional strife.

Solidarity Won For St. Paul Teachers



This was one of the scenes in St. Paul, as students carried on demonstrations in support of their striking teachers. Parents too joined the teachers on the picket lines to demand better schools and higher wage scales. In Minneapolis, the other Twin City, teachers also won substantial increases. St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer photo.

11 Boilermakers Face Expulsion; Led Fight For Union Democracy

By Dan Roberts
(Special to The Militant)

SEATTLE, Wash., Dec. 28 — Eleven members of Local 104 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers face possible expulsion from the union by the International's General Executive Board. The eleven are spokesmen for Local 104 in its long struggle for union democracy.

Each of the eleven was charged with engaging in a "conspiracy" with the other ten in order to "create dissension among the members" and "to work against the interest and harmony of the International Brotherhood" and the local.

Three International Vice-Presidents were appointed as the hearing committee by International President Charles McGowan. The "hearings" began Dec. 5 and ended Dec. 7.

The "accused" are Nicholas P. Hughes; Joe Clancy, the Local's secretary-treasurer; John Grosso, a member of the executive board; W. J. Miller, local 104's dispatcher; Walter Rasmussen, editor of the **104 Reporter**; Frank Chinella; Ed. L. Palmquist; Wm. J. Nadeau; Chas. E. Taylor; Roy A. Taylor; and Hagbard M. Edwards.

OUTSTANDING RECORD

Local 104 is one of the most progressive and democratic locals on the West Coast. Its rank and file spokesmen such as Nick Hughes, Frank Chinella and others have been among the foremost militant elements at shipyard National Wage Conferences. The local has an outstanding record in the Northwest area for its support to struggles of all other unions, including the CIO. This was demonstrated particularly last September when the local refused to heed the call of the Metal Trades Council to walk through longshore picket lines. The local is also opposed to red-baiting.

At the 1944 convention of the Boilermakers Union, Local 104's delegates were in the forefront of the struggle against lengthening the term of local and International officers from one to four years. However, the proposal sponsored by the International officials, carried. Seven locals of the union are already under receivership of the International.

PRESENT DISPUTE

The immediate issue involved in the present dispute is the right of the local to cut the salaries of its own officers. Last January, the local approved an economy program providing for the reduction of its officers' salaries to a maximum of $400 per month. Under this program the business agent's salary was cut from $520 to $400 per month, a rate of pay still well above the average boilermaker's earnings. The International's program, leaving salary scales intact but eliminating personnel, was turned down by the local.

When the International threatened to force its will on the local, two members went to court to secure a restraining order on the grounds that the Boilermakers' Constitution granted the locals power to set the pay for their own officers. A temporary restraining order was granted, but the local lost its plea for a permanent restraining order in the King County Superior Court last November. The local has now voted to appeal to the Washington State Supreme Court.

On the heels of its court victory, the International filed charges against the eleven. The hearings held by the three International vice-presidents were regular kangaroo proceedings. The eleven appeared one at a time, were confronted with the charges, and then asked to prove themselves innocent.

To date no further word has been received on what action the International will take against the eleven who continue to receive the solid support of Local 104 and all other champions of militant trade unionism in Seattle.

Teachers Win St. Paul Strike

(Special to The Militant)

The month-old St. Paul, Minnesota teachers strike ended on Dec. 27 after the City Charter Commission yielded to their demands and approved an amendment providing added funds for pay raises and school improvements. This was the largest teachers' strike in the history of the United States, involving 77 grade and high schools with 36,578 pupils.

Called on Nov. 25 by the Teachers Labor Council, central board for Locals 28 and 43 of the American Federation of Teachers, 1,165 teachers participated in the walkout. Hundreds of students and their parents joined the teachers on the picket lines in front of all the schools.

DEFY THREATS

The strike call was issued despite tremendous pressure from taxpayers' associations and similar groups and in defiance of city officials' threats to dismiss the teachers and revoke their teaching certificates if they went on strike.

Widespread support by the St. Paul labor movement, other American Federation of Teachers locals and progressive organizations forced the city officials to retreat on their threats. Important aid was given by the local Parent - Teachers Association. Minneapolis teachers, whose projected strike was averted through the granting of substantial wage increases, sent a check of $1,000 to aid the St. Paul teachers.

Most Employers Are Opposed To Escalator Clause

"The great majority of executives do not favor escalator clauses which tie wage rates to a cost of living or consumer price index," the National Industrial Conference Board declared after a survey of leading business executives last weekend. **(N. Y. Times, Dec. 30.)**

"Only about 15 per cent of the executives believed that the cost-of-living clauses provide a good basis for adjusting wages," the **Times** story continues. "Of these, only about half use such clauses in their own contracts."

The other businessmen involved in the survey, who oppose escalator clauses, gave a variety of reasons for not favoring inclusion of such clauses in their contracts. Some claimed that workers would accept it only in a period when living costs were rising; others stated it was an "unsound method for determining wages"; and still others declared that unions would oppose it.

REAL REASON

None of them gave the real reason for their opposition at this time—namely, that escalator clauses, based on a fixed minimum wage, are the best method of protecting the living standards of the workers in a period of rising prices.

They know that if escalator clauses based on an accurate index had been written into wage contracts at the end of the war, by this time wages would have been raised by three times the 11½ cents an hour average increase granted in industry since that time.

This in turn would have meant that a heavy chunk would have been taken out of the superprofits being garnered by Big Business in 1946.

DOLLARS AND CENTS

The survey also showed that Big Business was grateful to the government for breaking the recent mine strike, and why.

"Had John L. Lewis been successful in his test of strength, the executives said, wage discussions would have been forced upon most companies even where no re-opening clauses existed. If a new wave of demands is 'set in motion, few industries will escape,' was a typical comment."

That was why the capitalist class rallied virtually to the last man behind the government's strikebreaking campaign. To them the issue was not over the "sovereignty" of the government, as their obedient servant, Judge Goldsborough, tried to make it appear for public consumption. As far as they were concerned, the issue was simply one of dollars and cents.

Our Program:

1. **Defend labor's standard of living!**
   - A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
   - Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
   - Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
2. **Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
   - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
   - Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
   - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. **Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
   - No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
   - No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. **Build an independent labor party!**
5. **Tax the rich, not the poor!**
   - Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
   - No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!
6. **An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
7. **Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
   - End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
8. **For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
9. **A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
   - Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
   - Against capitalist conscription!
   - Abolish the officer caste system!
   - Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
   - Trade union wages for the armed forces!
   - Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. **Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
    - For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
    - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. **For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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Unification Announced By Trotskyist Groups In Ceylon

Because "no fundamental principled or programmatic differences existed," the two Trotskyist organizations in Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Bolshevik-Leninists, united into a single party last September, according to the Oct. 28 issue of the magazine, **Samasamajist.**

The unified organization will be known as the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International. The name of its magazine will probably be changed from **Samasamajist** to **Trotskyist.**

Unification of the two organizations was achieved, the **Samasamajist** declares, "for the purpose of bringing about unity in the ranks of the working class and providing it an experienced, tested and united leadership in its hour of struggle against the forces of British imperialism and Ceylonese capitalism."

The two organizations had all along followed the same program of revolutionary struggle against the enemies of the Ceylonese masses at home and abroad. Both had distinguished themselves in recent important strike struggles against wage cuts, mass dismissals and victimization of militant workers.

IMPORTANT ROLE

Trotskyists played an important part in the recent strike of the public service workers which began unfolding into a general strike and was called off by the Federation of Government Workers' Unions only after most of their demands had been granted. In this strike, the Trotskyists, working together, forced the Stalinists and reformists to enter a united front which assured the victory of the strike.

ACTIVE IN STRIKES

Comrades N. M. Perera and Colvin R. de Silva were elected as advisory members of the union negotiating committee.

The Trotskyists were equally active in the protracted strike of the bank clerks, mobilizing the rest of the labor movement in its support.

Indo-China Massacre Backed By Stalinists And Socialists

The French imperialist massacre of the Indo-Chinese fighters for independence is possible only because of the treachery and complicity of the French Communist and Socialist Parties.

The Blums and Thorezes have had to pay lip-service to the idea of Indo-Chinese independence because the Indo-Chinese struggle has won the sympathy of the masses of the world. But now when the chips are down and blood is flowing in the streets and fields of Indo-China, the CP and SP have taken their stand openly on the side of the French butchers and brass hats.

No one acquainted with recent French history should have been surprised by the revolting treachery of the SP. Its leaders for many years have served as "socialist" caretakers of the French Empire.

Just a few days before assuming the post of Premier last month, Leon Blum declared that he favored independence for Viet Nam. As soon as he was installed at the head of the interim government, he hastened to qualify this declaration by explaining he meant independence within the French Empire—that is, not really independence at all.

Within a week his government was dispatching additional thousands of special troops to slaughter the Indo-Chinese. And now he takes the position that there cannot even be any talk about the status of the Viet Minh Republic until it has been disarmed.

Socalist phrasemonger and corrupt servant of the colonial oppressors — that is Leon Blum and that is the Socialist Party. It is an old story, told over and over again in every section of the Empire.

But if words cannot fit the treachery of the "Socialists," then how can one properly describe the political baseness of the Stalinists?

Even while sitting in the cabinets which made a mockery of their independence promises, the Stalinists have demagogically claimed all along that they "support Viet Nam independence and cooperation with France," to use the words of the Dec. 23 **Daily Worker.**

But the very day after the **Daily Worker** story appeared, the chairman at the first meeting of the Council of the Republic, the upper chamber, asked for a demonstration of gratitude to the French troops in Indo-China:

THOREZ

"The House applauded vigorously, with the exception of a large contingent of Communists who remained in their seats while the others stood up to cheer. There was a full minute of hesitation while the aplauding was maintained and then in a body the Communists slowly rose to their feet at a signal from their leader and joined in the demonstration." (**N. Y. Times**, Dec. 25.)

This was only a first step. Three days later, according to the **Times:**

"Communist members joined with other groups in the new Council of the Republic tonight in approving a resolution calling for maintenance of French power in Indo-China in accordance with agreements freely reached and for pursuance 'of the civilizing mission of France in respecting the legitimate liberties of native populations'."

Previously the CP Political Bureau had tried to cover itself by denouncing "a campaign by reactionary circles against the Viet-Nam government." But it voted along with these same reactionary circles to hail the "civilizing mission" of French imperialism!

Such conduct would be treachery under any circumstances. But when carried out by parties with the strength and influence that the CP and SP wield in France today, it represents a new low, even for parties long accustomed to delivering stabs in the back to the labor movement.

For between them the CP and SP command the support of the majority of France. They control the entire labor movement; they have great influence among the peasants and the urban middle class. No government is able to function today without their support or tolerance. If they wanted to, if they called for withdrawal of the troops — as the French Trotskyists do — they could paralyze the whole Indo-China war program in 48 hours.

But they don't want to. The choice is between fighting the French imperialists or the Indo-Chinese victims of imperialism. They have made their choice, and their hands are stained with the blood of the Indo-Chinese masses.

The Lessons Of The Nov. 10 Elections In France And Italy

Resolution of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

The parliamentary elections in France, and the municipal elections in Italy which took place on Nov. 10, 1946, reveal a common tendency insofar as the evolution of the situation in these countries is concerned.

The center parties have undergone another reduction of their influence, with a growing polarization towards the political formations of the extreme left and the extreme right.

The set-back of the Socialist Party in the two countries has become accentuated, particularly in France, while the new Catholic parties, the MRP in France, and the Christian Democrats in Italy, also received a relative set-back, more marked in Italy than in France.

Right Wing Gains

In both countries important gains at the expense of the Socialists and more particularly of the Christian Democrats were registered by extreme right wing formations such as the PRL and the Gaullist Union in France, and the neo-Fascist Common Man movement, as well as the Monarchists in Italy.

On the other hand the Communist Parties have registered a new advance in both countries, probably more marked in Italy than in France, and they have recouped, at least on the parliamentary field, the influence which they appeared previously to be losing in the working class districts.

This advance of the Communist Parties was achieved mainly at the expense of the Socialist Parties. In both countries the abstentionist current was quite high in comparison with preceding elections, particularly in Italy where it reached a proportion in the neighborhood of three-quarters of the total of registered voters in certain southern towns.

The general lesson of these elections is the acceleration of the political process in these countries, by a simultaneous reinforcement of the extreme left, still represented for the masses by the Communist Parties, and of the extreme right. An important mass of elements discontented with the impotent policies of the coalition governments is very probably to be counted among the layers of the petty bourgeoisie, pursuing a waiting policy and susceptible to the idea of throwing their weight into the balance of an extra-parliamentary regrouping of the right wing forces.

The polarization at the extremes goes on in both countries although still at a slow tempo, in view of the fact that on the economic plane the situation continues to remain precarious and has even become aggravated in some respects, and in view of the fact that the coalition government, which the traditional workers' parties have joined, are considered by the most impatient sections of the masses as responsible for this situation.

Objective Situation

In France we are witnessing once more a chaotic food situation, the danger of financial bankruptcy, a new spiralling of the cost of living upwards, and a slowing down of the tempo of economic revival because of the coal crisis.

In Italy the same causes are aggravated by the existence of mass unemployment without the perspective of an immediate reduction.

The right is gaining in both countries by exploiting the manifest impotence of the coalition governments, and is grouping its forces for extra-parliamentary action.

The Communist Parties advance especially because of the distintegration of the Socialist Parties; the regrouping of the forces of the working class under their banner constitutes, from the point of view of the dynamics of the class struggle at the present stage, a more important element than the parallel reinforcement of the right.

Sign of Radicalization

Despite the neo-reformist program of the Communist Parties, the trend of the masses towards them nevertheless constitutes a sign of the radicalization of the latter in comparison with their past attachment to the Socialist Parties. The electoral vote for the Communist Parties does not necessarily mean increased confidence of the masses in these parties nor a real reinforcement of their influence upon the proletariat.

It is possible, and we have seen that from the example of the disparity which existed between the electoral influence of the Social Democracy and its genuine influence upon the masses in the past, that the same workers who are becoming more and more skeptical and even suspicious regarding the revolutionary character of the Stalinist leadership, vote in the elections for the Communist Party because they see in it the most extreme party on the electoral checkerboard against whom the reaction seems to concentrate all its fire.

On the other hand it is inevitable that at least some of the masses who have abandoned the Socialist Party turn to the Communist Parties on the electoral plane because the latter appear to them more dynamic or radical in comparison with the placidity of the Social Democracy and because the experience of the masses with Stalinism cannot be made by an immediate passage into the ranks of the revolutionary party.

Dominant Feature

The dominant feature of the elections in France and Italy is the tendency of the disintegration of the center parties for the benefit of the extremes; in such a process it is inevitable that the Communist Parties will still be able to profit from this current.

The by-passing of the Communist Parties by the masses can only manifest itself on the electoral plane after a series of extra-parliamentary struggle in which the experience of the masses becomes more mature, and only when there exists a genuine revolutionary party which by its persistent work in the trade unions, the neighborhoods, and by its participation in the struggles, has acquired the confidence of significant sections of the workers. We are only at the beginning of the realization of such conditions.

Policy of French PCI

The results obtained by our French section, the PCI, in its third electoral campaign constitute a relative success. The setbacks registered in some sectors reflect—aside from the pressure exercised by the very character of the elections, which were to decide the composition of Parliament for five years, upon the fluctuating elements impregnated with parliamentary illusions who voted for its lists in the preceding elections—the lack of persistent work of the party in these regions, in the factories, the trade unions and the neighborhoods.

However, new gains have been achieved in other regions, and the 14,000 votes obtained in the working-class departments of the Seine-et-Oise, were significant proof of the wide echo which our revolutionary program can find in the ranks of the proletariat.

The resolution of the Political Bureau of the PCI of November 19 correctly underlines that "only by stubborn work over a considerable period of time can the revolutionary vanguard increase its forces and acquire the confidence of the workers, the working peasants and the little people." But it is also important to underline that the character of the program and of its application at the present stage can decide the revolutionary quality of our work and the tempo of our development in attracting the most advanced elements from the general current of radicalization within the proletariat.

The Entire Program

Our participation in parliamentary elections serves us above all to unfold before the masses the entirety of our revolutionary program and not merely a restricted section of it, including immediate demands of an economic and political nature. From this point of view the whole sense of our participation in the electoral campaign and the revolutionary character of our program, which is radically opposed to the traditional parties, have been distorted by the tendency to reduce our program to a series of economic, democratic and transitional demands, which was noted in the whole electoral campaign of the party; by the insufficient importance given to the position of the party, and often its complete absence from our electoral platform, on the political problems and on the question of government; by the timorous criticism employed particularly with regard to the treacherous parties of the workers, especially towards the Stalinist party; and above all by the confusion sown by the letter addressed to these parties proposing to them withdrawal of our lists in the event that they would reciprocate for us with regard to one list.

Necessary Slogans

By their very nature parliamentary elections pose the question of the entirety of the political program of each party and more especially of its position towards the question of government. It is impermissible for a revolutionary party to show a tendency to restrain its electoral platform to immediate and partial political and economic demands only, and not to mention, even if only in passing, its position on the question of government, as was the case of No. 148 of **La Verite** which on the eve of the elections set forth the reasons why the workers should vote for the PCI. Instead of a firm position on this question, which should have crowned the total of our demands, the most contradictory formulas were employed in succeeding issues of **La Verite** which preceded the elections:

—Government of the workers parties;

—Workers and Peasants Government in the sense of a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat;

—Calling upon the traditional workers parties to go over into parliamentary opposition.

The only slogan which was not utilized was the transitional demand inscribed explicity in our Transitional Program and addressed to the traditional parties, to "break the coalition," to take power and apply a genuine minimum workers' program.

This omission becomes particularly felt today, after the election, when the Stalinist party demagogically addresses the Socialist party and reminds it that the two parties together with the few Moslem deputies have a majority of about one vote in the new Assembly, even on the parliamentary plane.

A False Conception

During the whole electoral campaign, just as now, the criticism of the PCI towards the traditional parties and especially the Stalinist party was impregnated with a conciliatory spirit proceeding from a false conception of the way to achieve the workers' united front by voting "to bar the path for reaction."

This conception is especially concretized in the letter addressed to these parties proposing to them a united front in the voting without any allusion to the program of this united front. An electoral united front with other parties which claim to represent the working class can be established only on the basis of a common minimum program of anti-capitalist demands and action. The two parties which the PCI addresses practised a class collaboration policy which did not justify such a proposition.

Our Present Tasks

Our withdrawal in their favor could not have any other interpretation for the masses, especially for those elements that were hesitant and which we were anxious to win over to our cause, than that our differences with the other parties were not of a fundamental programmatic character and that voting for them was a means nevertheless of "barring the path for reaction."

Our task on the other hand was to arouse relentless suspicions of the masses towards these parties, proving in fact their treacherous and capitulationist policy, to refute the arguments of division by demonstrating the reformist character of their policy which ties the masses to the bourgeoisie, and insisting upon our desire to be with them, not when they are betraying the working class but when they show that they are prepared to undertake genuinely anti-capitalist actions. Instead of that, our policy appeared as the worst sort of electoral horse-trading and could not in any case moreover, serve as an argument to prove our desire not to divide the votes.

The IS considers it necessary for the Central Committee and the whole of the French Party to seriously discuss the policy adopted by its leadership during the electoral campaign and the path which it seems to have taken thereafter, a path which the IS considers sown with opportunist errors and dangers.

November, 1946

German Workers In U. S. Zone Display Militancy In Strikes

(Special to The Militant)

GERMANY, December—In recent months there have been at least three important strikes by workers in the U. S. occupation zone of Germany.

In Stuttgart the acquittal of von Papen, Schacht and Fritsche, followed by the attempted bombings of several De-Nazification Commission buildings by underground Nazis, led to a general protest strike last October.

The strike was opposed by the trade union leadership and took place under the direction of an informal group of committeemen from various shops in the city. The official union leaders were forced to grant their approval at the last moment, when delegations of workers began to crowd into their headquarters to demand action.

STREAM OUT

The strike lasted only 15 minutes, but not a wheel moved in the entire city during that time. U. S. military police stood by in helpless confusion as the workers streamed out of the factories.

In Stuttgart again, workers in a factory which was to be dismantled and shipped to the Soviet Union as reparations, struck for a day and a half beginning Oct. 21.

Here the American authorities intervened and by threatening to withdraw ration cards, succeeded in forcing the workers to return.

In Mannheim, 2,000 workers employed in the shipyards, struck in a solid body for the reduction of their working hours from 48 to 45 per week. The union leaders were opposed to the strike and tried to prevent it.

When the U. S. authorities arrived at the shipyards, they found only the **Betriebsrat** (Shop Council) present. Everyone else had left the place amid screaming sirens.

MEN RELEASED

The U. S. authorities then proceeded to arrest committeemen, but soon had to release them when they saw the militant mood of the strikers.

The workers' demand for a reduced work week was finally won when the German administration of the yards, upon the instruction of the occupation authorities, yielded to the workers.

The workers wanted their hours reduced in this way so that they could have the whole day off on Saturday for the purpose of foraging in the countryside for extra food to supplement their slim rations. There has been no Saturday work since the strike, and an attempt of the management to cut rations was quickly withdrawn upon the threat of another strike, with the U. S. authorities intervening to prevent the attempt from going through.

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RWP Runs Candidate For Mayor Of Toronto

The newly-founded Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada has entered Murray Dowson in the municipal elections of Toronto as the only working-class candidate for Mayor in 1947, according to the Mid-December **Labor Challenge.** In this first election campaign since its foundation in November, Dowson will present the revolutionary socialist program of the RWP, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Dowson's candidacy was endorsed by the Massey Harris Local 439, CIO United Automobile Workers at a regular membership meeting on Dec. 8, after he outlined the main planks in the RWP election program and stressed the necessity for labor to have its own representatives in the City Council in the critical days that lie ahead.

UNION MAN

Dowson, born in Toronto's west-end in 1915, is a toolmaker by trade who has spent over 14 years of his life in active struggle for the working people. He has been a member at various times, of the Teamsters' Union, International Association of Machinists, International Union of Operating Engineers, and more recently of the DeHavilland Local 112, CIO United Automobile Workers. A fighter for the program of the RWP since 1933, Dowson was elected to its National Committee at its founding convention.

The RWP's 7-point electoral platform includes the following demands: 1. For independent working-class political action; 2. For subsidized low-rent housing; 3. Municipalize the milk distribution industry; 4. Make Toronto a 100 per cent union city; 5. Tax the rich, not the poor; 6. The right for all over 18 to vote in municipal elections; 7. For a socialist society.

Neither the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation nor the Labor Progressive Party (Stalinist) is runing candidates in this election. In this they continue their policy of the past to give a free field to the capitalist candidates.

"In the mayoralty election," the RWP platform states, "the working people are offered the choice between the Tory Saunders, the retired stockbroker, Conn Hearn, or the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party . . . We believe it is our duty to give the wage and salary workers, the small homeowners, the professional workers and the small shopkeepers an opportunity to cast their ballots for a candidate that can truly represent them, instead of throwing their votes down the sewer of capitalist machine politics."

The platform further points out that in the great struggles ahead "the workers of Toronto can play a leading part. By setting out on the road of independent political action, they will by their example encourage the workers throughout the country."

International Notes

Three weeks after it was installed in power, the Miguel Aleman administration gave notice that the Mexican government was moving sharply to the right. The threatened strike of of 20,000 government oil workers, following a 24-hour demonstration called by the Oil Workers Union to demand higher wages, was broken by the use of troops. Fifty union leaders were fired. Aleman threatens to scrap all existing agreements with the union, to establish new wage scales, which means wage cuts and dismissals for many workers, and to hire non-union workers.

Toledano, cowardly Stalinist leader of the Confederation of Labor, capitulated without protest, and defended Aleman's strikebreaking actions.

* * *

Malayan organizations and newspapers are voicing deep dissatisfaction with the British-proposed Constitution for a Malayan Federation. The plan is similar in essence to British schemes to camouflage perpetuation of their oppressive rule in India, Burma, Egypt, etc.

The new Constitution would virtually dismember Malaya. In nine native states it would restore the sovereignty of Sultans already kicked out by the people; it would establish two British Colonial "settlements" and maintain the island of Singapore outside the Federation as a crown colony.

* * *

Constantly mounting prices are worsening the plight of the low-paid French working class. Despite increased imports of food (French agriculture has sharply declined) rations remain the same; some 300 to 400 grams of bread a day, and each month one pound of sugar and 250 grams of fat.

Minimum living wages demanded by the General Confederation of Labor in reopening of wage negotiations, are to be fixed at 84,000 francs a year. On paper this amounts to $680; on the black market where food and other supplies are diverted, to $250 a year. Even if this minimum wage level is achieved, constantly mounting prices are expected to quickly wipe out any gains made by the workers.

* * *

Hunger demonstrations and pitched battles with police touched off by a sharp reduction in unemployed doles, spread rapidly from Bari, Italy through all Southern Italy last weekend. At Palmi a score of carloads of flour and other foodstuffs were seized by 2,000 starving Italians, some waving red flags. In Naples 100 veterans seized the electric plant. Police fired upon the Bari demonstrators, killing one, wounding 25.

* * *

An article about **The Militant** being circulated in Palestine was recently printed in the Palestine edition of the Cairo **Mid East Mail,** a paper published for the British armed forces only. This short article prints at least three lies, saying that **The Militant,** "noted for its anti-British views," contains "anti-Jewish" articles and "anti-white" stories on lynch-law in the U. S. The piece ends with a hint that complaints to the Press Censor might get **The Militant** banned from Palestine.

* * *

MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo has set up new sweeping controls over publications and written information. The new order is designed to bar from Japan all material interpreted by his headquarters as "detrimental" to the purposes of the U.S. occupation. It is aimed primarily against the USSR, but can be used against publications of any country.

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"Before exhausting or drowning mankind in blood, capitalism befouls the world atmosphere with the poisonous vapors of national and race hatred."

—Leon Trotsky

The New Congress

A Purple Heart veteran, whose letter appears in the "Workers' Forum" on page 5 of this issue, asks **The Militant** to start a "cry now to make the new Congress act right away." He wants to get his Armed Forces Leave Bond cashed now when his family needs it, instead of being forced to wait five years in accordance with an arbitrary whim of Congress.

The angry voice of this veteran is but one among millions demanding action from Congress to relieve pressing needs of the people.

Those crowded in dangerous, run-down tenements want low-cost housing—and right away. Those faced with the imminent threat of steep rent boosts want ceilings maintained.

The union man wants to safeguard the right to strike and the right to organize. In the face of sky-rocketing prices he seeks to maintain his hard-won standard of living.

The Negro people demand actior to protect their right to economic, social and political equality. They want to wipe out the tag ends of slavery that still exist throughout America in the form of segregation, discrimination, denial of the ballot and fierce racial persecution.

Are the members of the 80th Congress concerned about such burning problems of the people?

On the contrary, they have only one abiding interest, and that is how to protect the interests of Wall Street, no matter what the cost in human misery.

They are not interested in constructing homes. Instead, they are working out slick ways of aiding the real estate interests by scrapping rent controls and blocking low-cost government housing.

They are not interested in strengthening labor. On the contrary, they are cooking up laws to put labor in a strait-jacket. In place of maintaining the working man's standard of living, they are concerned about preserving and raising profits. Right now they are rushing to the aid of Big Business with emergency laws to block portal-to-portal pay.

As for defending the democratic rights of the Negro people, count Congress out. The Republicans are already assuring the Southern Democrats of their "good will." The program they have drawn up for the new Congress already shows they intend to renege on the promise of FEPC legislation which they gave in an effort to win the Negro vote.

The new Congress is an instrument of Big Business. It will grant concessions to the people only if forced by mass action and political pressure. It is high time for the labor movement to begin planning such action and exerting such pressure. Among other things, this means it is high time for the labor movement to begin the formation of an independent Labor Party.

Hands Off Puerto Rico

Truman's insistence that the children of Puerto Rico must speak English in the schools instead of their native tongue, Spanish, has aroused great indignation in this long-oppressed Caribbean island. As reported in last week's **Militant**, hundreds of thousands have protested Truman's dictatorial ruling.

But the brutal insistence of the American ruler that this subject people must speak a language convenient to Wall Street in preference to their own, is only one of the grievous burdens laid on Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Ricans are denied the full rights of American citizenship. They are governed without democratic representation. Their Governor, who can veto laws passed by their legislature, is foisted upon them by Washington the way Britain once foisted governors upon the American colonies.

A half-century of American rule is symbolized by what are probably the worst slums in the Western Hemisphere. The virtually one-crop economy—sugar—has converted the island into a Wall Street plantation. The plight of Puerto Rico has become a byword throughout Latin America.

The Puerto Ricans long for freedom from this galling yoke. They want the right to determine the future of Puerto Rico, the freedom to develop the natural resources of the island in accordance with the needs of the people.

That is why in the demonstrations demanding Spanish be made the official language in the schools, placards appeared calling for "withdrawal of American troops" and "hands off Puerto Rico."

The Militant is wholeheartedly in sympathy with the demands of the Puerto Rican people and calls on the advanced American workers to respond to the slogan raised in the streets of San Juan: "American democrats, help us fight Yankee imperialism."

"Labor Monopoly"

Alfred P. Sloan Jr., chairman of General Motors Corp. which controls nearly 50 per cent of U. S. automotive production, recently declared that "labor has become a monopoly." He called for laws to restrict such "monopolistic practices" as the union shop, industry-wide collective bargaining, and similar gains of the workers.

In the same week, no less an authority than Asst. Attorney General Wendell Berge, head of the Department of Justice's Anti-Trust Division, pointed out where the real monopoly threat lies. Citing the fact that just 250 giant corporations control two-thirds of the country's manufacturing facilities, Berge said:

"The monopoly problem is today more serious than at any time since the passage of the Sherman (anti-trust) Act. If monopoly power follows its traditional course, we can expect higher prices, limitations on production and a lowering of the level of employment."

It is especially ironic that a plutocrat like Sloan talks about "labor monopoly." General Motors, which is controlled by the munitions and chemical trust, the du Pont family, secured over 13 billion dollars in government war orders, or $1 out of every $8 in industrial war contracts.

The real monopolies, the giant financial and industrial empires ruled by about 60 fantastically wealthy families, dominate the whole of American life. They control the government, own the major political parties, select the judges, write the laws. They exact their high tribute for almost everything the people buy. They squeeze out the small business man and the independent farmer. They exact the last ounce of profit from the labor power of the workers.

The international competition and rivalries of these gigantic aggregates of wealth and power decreed that 66 million human beings had to die in World War II. They are thrusting their rapacious tentacles toward every spot on the globe and preparing for a new and greater blood-bath on their corpse-strewn path to world domination.

All that stands in their way is the power of labor—above all the might of 15,000,000 organized American workers.

The unions, by their growth and extension throughout all industry, have laid the basis for a real challenge of the monopolies that are strangling this country and have ruined half the world. They have given an intimation of labor's power in the great strike wave of 1946.

That is what the Sloans, the real monopolists see and fear. They know that one day this giant of American labor, mobilizing all the "little people" and thrusting out for political power, is going to wipe out the monopoly of the few, take over industry and operate it in the interests of the many. That's the "labor monopoly" the American people should welcome and fight for.

Revealing Contrast

When Truman announced December 22 that "pre-Christmas actions are planned" in the way of amnesties, it was generally assumed he referred only to the 662 conscientious objectors still in prison in America.

Truman actually did make a gesture in the direction of these people who were imprisoned because they held they could not join in the slaughter of human beings without profoundly violating their conscience or religious convictions. Truman set up a three-man board empowered to review some 11,000 cases of draft violations and to "recommend those persons it deems deserving of executive clemency."

However, just to make doubly clear that Truman's Christmas generosity toward the conscientious objectors remained within exceedingly narrow limits, White House press secretary Charles G. Ross emphasized there was not the slightest intention of granting a "blanket amnesty."

While Truman's supporters were still hailing the magnanimity of the White House, a really sweeping Christmas amnesty was announced.

The day before Christmas, General McNarney stood in Roemberg Square in Frankfort-on-the-Main where the Kaisers were crowned for 500 years. He amnestied between 800,000 and 1,000,000 "small fry" Nazis.

The amnesty for small Nazis was made a "blanket" one. Three Americans who broadcast for the Hitler regime during the war were released from prison—Herbert Burgman, Donald Day, former correspondent of the **Chicago Tribune,** and Mildred Gillars, an "Axis Sally" who was among the highest paid performers in Goebbel's propaganda department.

Truman's carefully-timed, but empty, gesture in behalf of the conscientious objectors was nothing but a bone tossed to their political representatives who have been picketing the White House and demonstrating in other cities. To have given a blanket Christmas amnesty to the former Nazis without a gesture toward the conscientious objectors would not have been astute capitalist "politics."

The White House shows far more sympathy for the militaristic supporters of capitalism, even though they were in the "enemy" camp, than it does for those Americans who objected to participating in the war. Washington will forgive a Nazi, but it still begrudges clemency to opponents of war at home. The contrast is revealing and educational.

"If only the workers would raise themselves above their day-to-day problems, as we do, there'd be less bitterness in the world!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

ONLY YESTERDAY by Frederick Lewis Allen, Bantam Books, 1946, 402 pp., 25 cents.

This book, which its author describes as "an informal history of the nineteen-twenties," was first published in 1931. To the middle-class reading public of that day, lost in the depths of the depression, the book gave a lively picture of the previous decade, a recent past which it looked at with bitter-sweet nostalgia and the feeling that those days were gone forever.

Republished last year as a 25 cent reprint, the book now has a new appeal. The era which it treats began after the First World War, and it is interesting to compare the beginnings of that postwar period with today.

Only Yesterday in some ways enables us to make this comparison better than the conventional history book would. The author is primarily concerned not only with political intrigues and maneuverings, but with the changing daily environment of the "ordinary person" — the current topics of conversation and interest, the fashions in clothes and ideas, the manners and morals of the time.

His graphic description of the armistice celebrations, the mounting cost of living, the housing shortage and the strikes of 1919 and of the growth of unabashed reaction, after the Wilsonian wartime demagogy (which he calls "idealism") had served its purpose, often reminds us of the news stories in today's paper.

Only within limits, however, is Allen successful in bringing back "the very form and pressure of the times." For he confines himself to the effect of that decade upon the outlook of the middle class. He begins by recounting the routine of "a moderately well-to-do young couple" on an ordinary day in May, 1919, in order to suggest the contrast between life before and after the "fabulous" Twenties.

Although intending to write the chronicle of an era, the author continues to think in terms of the life of this middle-class young couple throughout the book. Although he mentions in passing that not everyone had a seat on the Coolidge prosperity band-wagon, one could not suspect from his writing that the Negro sharecropper of the South, the Pennsylvania coal miner, the small mid-western farmer and the New England textile worker did not buy land in the Florida boom or stock in the big bull market.

Consequently the author's interpretation of events, where there is such interpretation, is superficial. Its value is mainly as a colorful reminiscence of a period which is similar in many respects to the one in which we are living today.

These similarities, however, should not blind the reader to the fundamental differences between the two epochs. The prolonged crisis of world capitalism which began in 1929 and was temporarily alleviated by new war preparations and World War II, is today more acute. Moreover, the Hoovers and the Hardings of the 1940's will be confronted by a powerfully organized working class determined not to give up any of its gains.

— Paul Schapiro

MATHEMATICIAN'S DELIGHT by W. W. Sawyer, Penguin Books, 1946, 215 pp., 25 cents.

This American edition is the third printing of a popularly-written introduction to mathematics. Dr. Sawyer demonstrates that an understanding of mathematics can most easily be acquired by relating it to everyday things and experiences. He throws fresh light upon the discovery and application of many common mathematical problems and operations.

For example, the author approaches geometry as "the science of furniture and walls;" algebra as a kind of "shorthand;" graphs as "thinking in pictures." Trigonometry is explained as "how to make tunnels and maps;" differential calculus as "the study of speed."

". . . **Mathematical reasoning,**" he writes, "is not separate from the other powers of the mind, nor is mathematics separate from the rest of life. Quite the opposite: mathematics has grown from the rest of life, and reasoning from experience . . .

"Pure mathematicians do not appear on the scene until late in human history; they represent a high level of civilization. The first comers are the practical men, who study the world at first hand, and discover methods which work in practice."

Every worker today uses mathematics in his daily life, more or less consciously. This book will help remove the further study of mathematics from dull, parrot-like scholasticism, and make it a part of the world of doers. It is a useful book for every man and woman in the shop interested in acquiring a clearer understanding of this mental tool.

—Larissa Reed

Whitewashing "Military Justice"

When a House Military Affairs sub-committee last April issued a sweeping indictment of U. S. "military justice" in World War II, Undersecretary of War Kenneth C. Royall characterized the report as "grossly unfair both to the Army and the system of military justice." In rejecting action on this report, Royall pointed out that the War Department was going to wait until its own newly appointed Advisory Committee on Military Justice, with members selected by the American Bar Association, had reviewed the court-martial procedure.

Royall's answer showed that the War Department expected a "safe" investigation from its Advisory Committee. **The Militant** of May 4 pointed out, furthermore, that a similar committee made up of ABA members had helped to whitewash the U. S. Army's injustices of World War I.

On Dec. 21 the Advisory Committee published its report, which showed that both Royall and **The Militant** had known what to expect of it. For this report represents one of the most brazen cover-up jobs in recent history.

There have been so many bitter complaints by servicemen about the injustice of the court-martial system that the Advisory Committee could not just pat the brass hats on the shoulder and say "Well done." A few notes of criticism were in order—otherwise the report would not seem "impartial." So some slaps on the wrist were given in the report — but immediately covered up by an endorsement of the court-martial system itself.

"Almost without exception our informants said that the Army system of justice in general and as written on the books is a good one; that it is excellent in theory and designed to secure swift and sure justice, and that the innocent are almost never convicted and the guilty seldom acquitted," stated the report.

"With these conclusions the committee agrees . . . "

With that endorsement as a basis the report goes on to make some mild criticisms—not of the court-martial system, but of the way it was applied or mis-applied, the failure to follow the Articles of War closely on all occasions, the lack of conscientiousness or competence on the part of court-martial lawyers, etc.

No wonder that Royall promised the report would receive "prompt and careful consideration." Not even Royall himself could have written a better whitewash of the court-martial system.

The weak-hearted criticisms of the way the court-martial system operates will not disturb the brass hats at all. Their favorite alibi in brushing aside the GIs' complaints has all along been that after all things cannot be perfect in the heat of battle, the rush of war and the hasty expansion of the Army.

But actually, as two Socialist Workers Party veterans pointed out before an open hearing of the Advisory Committee in New York last September:

"The outstanding characteristic of the court-martial system is that it is intended primarily to maintain discipline and not to administer justice . . .

"What is necessary is a radical change in the whole structure—a change which will remove from the hands of the officer corps control over the functions of prosecutor, judge and jury . . .

"For these reasons we are here to propose the complete abolition of the general court-martial and the institution of a system of civilian court trial for soldiers charged with serious offenses . . .

"What is required, therefore, is a new set of Articles of War and Court-Martial Manuals, and not a few piddling reforms." (Testimony of George Breitman and Milton Richardson, reported in **The Militant,** Sept. 21, 1946.)

The Advisory Committee's open whitewash of the brass hats shows that only the labor movement in collaboration with the veterans can be depended on to lead a fight for the necessary reform of the Army's trial procedure.

AKRON
Current Events Discussion
EVERY SATURDAY
8 So. Howard 8 p.m.

President Truman In The Role Of Historian

By George Breitman

Besides employing his talent for strikebreaking, President Truman fancies himself in the role of historian. Nothing but such a fancy can explain his Dec. 20 speech on the need for peacetime conscription, made to his newly appointed Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training. ("I want that word military left out," he said on second thought.)

The president thought it was "a terrible reflection on a free country" when he found out that "almost 30 per cent of our young people who were called up for military service were unfit physically or mentally."

This led to his next remarks: "I have been somewhat of a student of history, and I have discovered that great republics of the past always passed out when their peoples became prosperous and fat and lazy, and were not willing to assume their responsibilities." Apparently he saw no connection between the "prosperity" of the American people in the Thirties and the high percentage of physical and mental unfitness that developed from it in the Forties.

Instead he went on to give some examples: "In other words, when the Romans and the Greeks and some of the Mesopotamian countries turned to mercenary defenses, they ended. That is, when the people of a nation would not do the necessary service to continue their government, it ended eventually in one way or another. That has been true of modern nations also."

The Roman Empire declined and fell, according to this analysis, because its people relied on mercenary defenses—that is, a standing or professional army—instead of being willing to assume their responsibilities—that is, establish a system of conscription. Who knows?—if the Romans had had Truman's profound understanding of these problems, their Empire might still be running things today. Anyhow, they didn't so it ended eventually in one way or another.

But why speculate about ancient history when the president can prove his point by stating "that has been true of modern nations also"? In our time at least three nations, wisely avoiding the mistake of depending on mercenary defenses, acted in accord with the president's recommendations, assumed their responsibilities and went in whole-hog for conscription.

Instead of becoming prosperous and fat and lazy, they did what Truman advocates—they drafted the youth and taught them how to drill and fight. And everybody knows how these modern nations—Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan—instead of passing out or ending eventually in one way or another, survived and won World War II.

Unravelling The Secret Of Your Electric Bill

By Joseph Hansen

Every two months New York's 24,608 postal workers distribute bills from the power trust to 2,152,467 households that use electricity for lighting (5,195 still use gas lights). This leaves very few who don't hear regularly from the power trust — 3,077 dependent on kerosene or gasoline and 1,154 using "other." That probably means candles.

Outside of college mathematics it is difficult to find mental exercise more invigorating than figuring out the light bill. You put down $1.50 for the first 24 kilowatt hours (or less), then add 5c per kwhr for the next 80 kwhr, 4c for the next 80, 3c the next 70, and 2c for anything else the meter registered.

But you're not through yet. You've still got to add a city sales tax of 2 per cent. Remember, it's expensive to keep capitalist politicians in office!

Then we come to where most people get stuck — a little item called "Fuel Adjustment" that's as innocent-looking as the character you never suspect in a murder mystery.

We tried calling up the company to find out what "Fuel Adjustment" is for. The voice on the telephone admitted, after we pried a few minutes, that it was higher costs passed on to the consumer. Yes, it's figured out by the company. Why? If you think your bill is too high, don't forget it's bi-monthly and you use more electricity in the winter. Who could forget facts like that?

The attendant at the Public Library was more helpful. He agreed few mysteries are deeper than a light bill but it can be solved, he said. We settled down to an agreeable afternoon reading the **Federal Power Commission National Electric Rate Book.**

Both volumes, heavy as they are, ought to be in the home of every worker who pays an electric light bill. You can compare the power rates of every city in the United States and see how high privately-owned utilities force up rates and how low publicly-owned utilities bring them down.

In the second volume we lingered over the "Tennessee Valley Authority Standard Rate Schedules." If you live in an R-1 district you can figure your light bill at 2c per kwhr for the first 100 kwhr, 1c the next 250, and if you can go the limit making housework easy with electric appliances, only four-tenths of a cent for the next 700 kilowatt hours! Naturally that's government-produced power — the kind that keeps the power trust seeing red.

Browsing along, we even found what "Fuel Adjustment" means. It's "a clause in a rate schedule that provides for an adjustment of the customer's bill in case the cost of fuel varies from a specified base price." That's the definition of the Federal Power Commission.

Back in 1941, apparently, when Roosevelt was heading us into World War II, the New York power trust scheduled this clause to go into effect Nov. 1, 1943, to insure their profits against cost rises.

Since then electric bills in New York have been increased automatically every time company figures revealed an increase in costs.

We thought it over. If the power trust can use an escalator clause in contracts with consumers to protect profits, why can't the workers use a similar clause in contracts with consumers of their labor power to insure the family income against price rises? Why shouldn't every union contract have an escalator clause providing an automatic increase in wages when living costs go up?

Why not learn from the experience of the power trust? Especially since it's an experience we pay for!

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Veteran Wants His Bond Cashed

Editor:

Today I got my Armed Forces Leave Bond, and it came to $225. I really earned that money when I was in the Army, and I really need it now, when I am earning $32 a week and trying to take care of a wife and kid with it, with prices so high it is easy to understand why some people go back into the Army.

This money would really come in handy now — but I cannot spend it until five years after I was discharged, which means January, 1951 so far as I am concerned. The reason Congress gave when it wrote that joker into the bill is the "fear" of inflation!

This situation has me boiling mad, because it is tantalizing to have the bond and not be able to cash it when I need it most. Adding to my aggravation is the fact that officers got their money in cash and not bonds, and that the Congress that did this voted itself a 50 per cent raise in wages beginning next month — not in five years from now.

I am sure that if all the veterans and their families did something about this we could get Congress to change the law. I know it could be done if the labor movement would help the veterans in this fight. How about **The Militant** starting the cry now to make the new Congress act right away?

A Purple Heart Veteran
New York City

Editors' Note: See editorial, The New Congress, on Page 4.

The Government And The Mine Strike

Editor:

The Dec. 21 **Militant** carries Joseph Hansen's very fine and timely analysis of capitalist courts. We should carry more of this type of article tying up the judges with the political machines and with big capital which finances these machines.

However, within the above-mentioned article there appears an incorrect formulation. The phrase reads, "Since the coal strike has been broken . . ." Now no miner feels his strike was broken. He knows that the battle was only postponed. A broken strike to any union man means a union beaten into submission, it means pickets waylaid, and scabs run in. The miners have had experiences with broken strikes many years ago. The last strike was not such an experience.

I was in the mine area when the strike was called off. There was no talk by the miners of having suffered a defeat. "We'll be out again," was their sentiment.

The fact is that the union leadership, lacking social vision and fearing a show-down fight

with the government, fearing to call on the whole labor movement for support, decided to postpone an all-out battle. The leadership retreated. But this is different from a "broken" strike. The miners are preparing to take the offensive again. We must be careful not to give offense to militant union men who know the power of their union.

It is perfectly correct to refer to the government role as a "strikebreaking" role. But this is different from stating that the strike itself was "broken."

H. Lamont
Youngstown, O.

Likes Series On Wages, Prices, Profits

Editor:

That was a fine series of articles on Wages, Prices and Profits that you printed by Warren Creel. But it seems like a shame to keep it confined to the columns of **The Militant** alone. Couldn't it be printed in more permanent form as a pamphlet? I think it would be a very effective piece of education that way.

J. H.
Newark, N. J.

Baby's Death Indicts Capitalism

Editor:

The death of the veteran's starving baby in Atlantic City is another indictment against this satanic capitalist system that we are trying to exist under.

The war profiteers will be short just one more boy to draft, when that child would have reached 18 years of age — but death is a hell of a way to "beat the draft"! As a Socialist I know a better way.

Railroad Trainman
Prescott, Ariz.

Blaming Labor For Capitalist Depressions

Editor:

Now President Truman says that everything will be all right in 1947, there won't be a depression and so on if only labor will stay on the job.

Now nobody ever accused Truman of having too much sense and I guess people are getting used to seeing him put his feet in his mouth. But I for one got good and angry when I saw this attempt to blame labor for the breakdown of the almighty profit system.

Next thing we know they will be saying that strikes in 1929 were responsible for the big crash and the depression of the 1930's.

It's bad enough when they can't control their own system and the workers have to suffer unemployment and go hungry as a result. But it's going too far when they try to blame us for it too!

Subscriber
Newark, N. J.

Letter To Truman On Amnesty For COs

Editor:

The following is a letter sent to President Truman by the Toledo branch of the Socialist Workers Party, demanding amnesty for conscientious objectors and other political prisoners still persecuted for their opposition to the war.

* * *

Dec. 23, 1946

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. President:

Throughout the war and up until the present time, the United States government has held in federal prisons and concentration camps thousands of individuals whose only crime was that they did not believe in the slaughter of their fellow man, in the war recently conducted by the imperialist government of Wall Street.

The Toledo branch of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) vigorously protests this outrage against the freedom of conscience and civil liberties of the conscientious objectors and other political prisoners so unjustly treated.

Our organization at a meeting assembled on Sunday, December 22nd, went on record unanimously demanding that you, the President of the United States, immediately grant full pardon to all political prisoners still held in custody. We further demand that you restore all civil rights to those political prisoners already released including the eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party railroaded to prison for their opposition to the war.

Very truly yours,
Malcolm Walker,
Toledo Branch Organizer
Socialist Workers Party

Wants 'Militant' Given To More Workers Now

Editor:

Enclosed please find a check for $2.50 to pay for a year's subscription to **Fourth International** and to extend my **Militant** subscription six more months.

You will also find enclosed a check for $5 with which I wish to pay for copies of **The Militant** that are to be distributed free to union members and other workers during this crisis.

W. T. G.
New Haven, Conn.

$2,430 Chalked Up In SWP Fund Drive; Locals Hit 12 Per Cent Of $20,000 Goal

By William F. Warde
National Fund Campaign Director

Christmas week gave a sizeable spurt to the campaign for the $20,000 Emergency Fund to aid the work of the Socialist Workers Party. Contributions amounting to $1,217.17 poured in to the National Office from various parts of the country. This just about doubled the amount previously raised. The total now stands at $2,430.67, or 12 per cent.

This encouraging stride forward made last week indicates that the Fund Campaign is gaining real momentum after a rather slow start. If the present pace can be maintained, the SWP fund banner will be hoisted high toward the $20,000 mark in the weeks to come.

Buffalo remains at the head of the procession for the third successive week by sending in another $24 on its $700 quota. But this branch is being crowded closely by the steel center of **Youngstown**, which came forward following its successful banquet with $190, over one-third of its allotted $500.

The **New York Local** merits special recognition for its regular weekly remittances which exceed in amount those of any other branch. Irving Dale, Fund Director of Central Branch in New York, reports an inspiring story: "Comrade Louise Mann, who has been seriously ill and is still convalescing, gave a fine example of Bolshevik spirit and initiative. She wanted to do something about the fund right away, and took the occasion of her birthday to arrange a house party at her apartment in order to raise money for the $20,000 Fund.

"Every guest was asked to bring a token gift of some kind, and during the evening these gifts, unopened, were auctioned off. $28 was collected by means of this auction from the 12 people who came together that evening."

Duncan Conway, Fund Director for the New York Local, informs us that other comrades are planning similar house parties and social affairs for the fund. Moreover, each of the six branches in the New York area plans to put on a big social during January or February with all proceeds donated to the Fund. "We hope to attract to these affairs," Comrade Conway states, "a large number of our friends and sympathizers who want to help support the activities of the SWP."

Boston mailed in one-third of its $400 quota through Hilda Webster who remarks: "These checks for $136 are the total amount the Boston branch has so far collected. It keeps us on schedule in the fund drive."

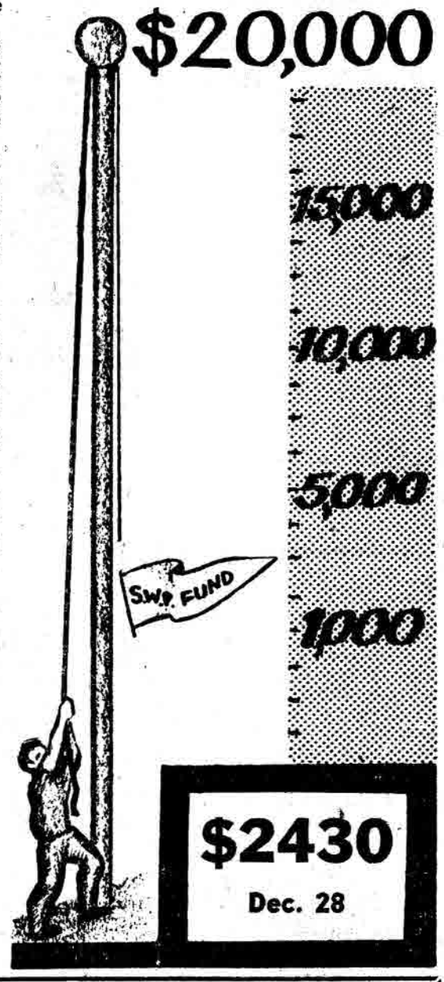
St. Paul and Minneapolis, the Twin Cities, are running neck to neck in the race, with each at the 30 per cent mark. P. Mertens of St. Paul writes: "Here is $100 toward our quota of the $20,000 Fund drive. **The Militant** reported St. Paul's quota as $300 and Minneapolis as $700. The actual division agreed upon by the two cities was $330 for St. Paul, $670 for Minneapolis. Our quota, by the way, is already pledged in full. I will send you more money as fast as it is collected."

"Find enclosed our first payment of $86," Fred Riggs of **Detroit** writes. "That cracks the ice for Detroit. As yet we have planned no special money-raising activities. Pledges from the comrades and from the Party sympathizers make up the bulk of the cash raised for our branch. As I recall past fund drives Detroit has always ended in the 100 per cent column. I have no reason to think that it will be otherwise this time."

From the General Motors city, **Flint**, Genora Dollinger reports: "At our last branch meeting I was elected Director of our Scotty Hunter Memorial Fund Campaign. Our plans are well prepared and well under way to make or exceed our quota. Comrades and sympathizers have pledged generously in this campaign. These sympathizers in the shops are workers who think that **The Militant** is a genuine workers' newspaper fighting in their interests, and they are showing their appreciation of the financial difficulties we are having in this very concrete way."

From the West Coast **San Francisco** comes through with a first payment of $197 on its $1,250 quota. "This of course is for the San Francisco branch only," says Anne Chester. "The Oakland branch will send its payments directly to you."

We want to give special thanks to the "dry-goods friend" in New York City who gave a contribution of $10.



SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Per cent
Buffalo	$ 700	$282.00	40
Youngstown	500	190.00	38
Boston	400	136.00	34
Minneapolis	670	200.00	30
St. Paul	330	100.00	30
Reading	150	43.00	29
Milwaukee	200	47.00	23
Toledo	300	50.00	17
New York Local	6,000	963.67	16
San Francisco	1,250	197.00	16
Akron	400	43.00	11
Flint	200	21.00	10
Detroit	1,000	86.00	9
Philadelphia	500	35.00	7
Seattle	800	25.00	3
Akron Youth	10	0	0
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Baltimore	20	0	0
Bayonne	50	0	0
Chicago Local	1,500	0	0
Chicago Youth	25	0	0
Cleveland	300	0	0
Connecticut State	120	0	0
Houston	25	0	0
Los Angeles Local	1,500	0	0
Los Angeles Youth	25	0	0
Newark	300	0	0
New York Youth	50	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Philadelphia Youth	25	0	0
Pittsburgh	150	0	0
Portland	150	0	0
Rochester	75	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
San Diego	100	0	0
Tacoma	100	0	0
General	1,700	12.00	.7
Total	**$20,000**	**$2,430.67**	**12%**

Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Sunday, Dec. 15, 2 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing. 8 South Howard St. 2nd floor.

CHICAGO. — Youth meeting Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet **Socialism On Trial**. Games and refreshments. 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educationals after every meeting. Refreshments served.

NEW YORK. — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments.

Sundays, 3 p.m.:—"What Is Socialism?" 116 University Pl.

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Newspaper Guild Striker Speaks At Forum In Phila.

By C. Blake
(Special to The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Dec. 27 — Edward Stone, representative of the CIO Newspaper Guild strikers who are battling the **Philadelphia Record**, spoke last Friday at the Militant Labor Forum. After explaining the history of the present strike, he appealed for support of the Philadelphia workers against the hypocritical publisher, Stern.

The forum audience also heard an interesting report by R. C. Hunter, Director of the Educational Department of the National Health Foundation. Mr. Hunter exposed the terrible conditions prevailing in Pennsylvania Mental institutions, and condemned as "a sham, inadequate and deceptive," the "corrective" proposals made by Republican Governor Martin.

Martin's program calls for $2,000,000 for a new addition to the condemned Byberry Mental Institution. "It sounds fine, but Byberry is only one of the many institutions in Pennsylvania," Mr. Hunter warned. "We must be careful of this plan as a smokescreen to hide conditions in the rest of the state."

The speaker pointed out that $2,000,000 is only a small fraction of the state's annual $480,000,000 income. He explained that this sum was proposed for building, "but buildings, brick and mortar do not cure patients."

Mr. Hunter stressed the need for more adequate equipment, proper training for attendants, decent wage scales for institution personnel, better medical care, bedding and clothing for the mentally ill. He cited abuses of patients, including beatings, and negligence which in some cases resulted in overdoses of sedatives leading to the death of patients.

The hospital attendants are badly underpaid, receiving only $98 per month. There are not enough, all are overworked.

The problem of assisting the mentally ill cannot be solved, he said, by voting for either the Democrats or the Republicans.

The forum was concluded by Max Geldman, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia, who pointed out that the problem of the mentally ill is a part of the sickness of our economic and social system, which fails to aid the sick workers regardless of their need.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Toledo Branch Elated As Sub-Drive Scores Rise

Comrades of the **Toledo Branch** secured 32 subs to **The Militant** during the first Sunday mobilization of their campaign. In addition, 26 pamphlets were sold. "We are keeping score in this campaign on the basis of one point for each 10 cents worth of subs or literature sales," writes **Paul Carroll**, Literature Agent. "This gives full credit to those who succeeded in getting one-year renewals and gives an incentive toward selling literature. A suitable prize will be given the high scorer.

"**Gladys** and **Maggie** scored 42½ points each to lead the branch. **Mae** scored 34, **Nolan** and **Joe** 30 each, **Pablo** 23, **Alice** and **Pat** 16 each, and **Sadie** and **Syd** 15 each. The comrades are elated over the success of the day's work, and many of them plan to go out on week days.

"Full credit should be given to **Gladys** and **Alice.** These women, each with four children, came 12 and 16 miles respectively into town to spend a day preparing prospect cards, and worked many hours in their homes to complete this work. Then, after a week of this thankless toil, came back in for the mobilization and went house to house all afternoon in 20 degree weather.

"When commended for this display of Bolshevik spirit, Alice said, 'It wasn't any accident. Gladys and I knew we wanted a revolution as soon as possible and we decided that if selling **The Militant** was going to make it come any sooner we were going to sell **The Militant.**'"

* * *

Connecticut State's campaign continues at a brisk pace. Literature Agent **James White** forwarded 21 subs for the week. He writes: "**Clara Raymond** leads the Pace-Setters for the second straight week, with a total of 27 subs to date. **Pearl Spangler** follows closely with 22 subs."

* * *

Belle Rosen of **Chicago** sent the accompanying note with nine subs: "It's very difficult to tell you just how these subs were gotten because they come from eveyrwhere. Comrades meet people and just sell them subs. It has become almost an unconscious duty when they meet new people. We obtained four subs at the meeting we held on the mine strike last Sunday."

* * *

Oakland Branch sent in another eight subs with the following comment by **Beverley Wise:** "This month we will make our quota unless the Christmas slump gets us."

* * *

While Flint Branch held a Chevrolet fraction meeting Saturday afternoon, Literature Agent **El Snyder** made the most of her unoccupied time by going out to get subs. She obtained four.

E. Brent of **Detroit** reports a gratifying experience: "Last June while I was canvassing for renewals F. S. didn't have any money to pay for his renewal. Because he said he liked **The Militant** so well, I paid for a six-month renewal. About a month later while I was passing his house he called to me and told me he was in a position to pay for his sub. He gave me a dollar bill and said, 'Now I'm paid up until May of 1947.'"

* * *

Al Turner sent in three subs for **San Diego**, promising that the branch "will send more later."

* * *

Sid Brooks, Boston's Literature Agent, mailed in 12 subs.

Four subs came in from **Comrade Guil** for **Akron.**

* * *

Milwaukee is having a little tough sledding right now, but the branch manages to send in subs. "We are temporarily out of a headquarters," explains **Fred Martin**, "so our work is a little disrupted. We had one mobilization but we mistakenly chose a very difficult neighborhood — mostly churchgoers in a Polish district. We have only 15 subs toward our December quota."

* * *

Yetta Fine of **San Pedro** reports: "Enclosed you will find 12 subs. Comrades **Alice, Elsie,** and **Lou** have been doing a swell job. They went out on renewals and where the old subscriber moved, they sold subs to the new tenants. **Comrade Eugene** is in the lead in 'Job' subs:

"We have had no luck in putting the paper on newsstands. As soon as we succeed in obtaining such an arrangement, the pressure from the Stalinists forces the arrangement to be withdrawn. As a result, we have built a small stand of our own and have chained it to a telephone pole in the heart of town. Business is very good. The papers sell and there are always coins in the money box which is part of the stand. We are going to build more

* * *

Anne Chester tells us about **San Francisco's** distribution of the December 7 issue of **The Militant:**

"The 200 **Militants** containing the article addressed to the State CIO Convention was very well received by the delegates. The Stalinists tried to push us around a bit, but gave up very quickly when we resisted. The main issues at the Convention were the red-baiting Statement of Policy and the Labor Party. The PAC Committee spent over five hours discussing the question of a Labor Party.

"We sold 74 pamphlets: 34 copies of **Build the Labor Party Now**, which was all we had, and 40 copies of **American Workers Need a Labor Party.**"

Branches Confident As FI Sub Campaign Gets Underway

During the first 10 days of **Fourth International's** three-month campaign, launched Dec. 15, branches of the Socialist Workers Party obtained 57 subs. The goal is 1,000 subscriptions.

Branches from coast to coast have expressed confidence in fulfilling their quotas. Many branches aim to go over their quotas; some aim to double.

Pittsburgh Branch has already reached the half-way mark with five subs against their quota of 10. This confident branch, which is aiming to double its quota, has challenged all branches with a similar quota — Connecticut State, Reading, San Diego and Tacoma.

Reading Branch not only accepted Pittsburgh's challenge, but they "hope to make them wish they hadn't made the challenge."

* * *

Minneapolis got a good start in the campaign by sending in 10 subs. The comrades of this branch pass along a good suggestion: That comrades visiting their doctor or dentist solicit a sub. They point out that a **Fourth International** placed in a waiting room would be widely read.

* * *

Los Angeles with seven subs to its credit and **Toledo** with four are going after combination **FI** and **Militant** subs.

St. Paul's plan, successful in the past **FI** campaign, is to mail a copy of **Fourth International** to **Militant** subscribers, with a letter stating that a visit will be made in the near future. "This," the branch explains, "opens the door for us when we call."

* * *

Milwaukee Branch which opens its class on Marxism in **January** states: "We will attempt to interest everyone in the class in a subscription to **Fourth International**, since the lectures will tie in very well with the level of the articles in the **FI.**"

* * *

Friends of **Fourth International** in **Canada** sent us three one-year combination subs to **F.I.** and **Militant**, writing: "We hope to be able to give you a bit of a hand with the sub drive. Best of luck."

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 So. Howard St. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.
Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free.
Sundays, 7 p.m. Public Speaking class.

BALTIMORE—For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.

BAYONNE—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

BOSTON 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MAdison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767 Liberty, bookstore.
Sat. night, open house.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.
Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.
Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open Mon., 7:30-9:15, p.m.
Fridays, 8:15 p.m.; 1st and 3rd each month, open forum. 2nd and 4th, round table discussion.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIgelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place. GR. 5-8149
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m.
Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.
BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor Round table discussions, 2nd and 4th Sundays each month. 3:30. Phone: Court 6060.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711, Portland 8, Oregon.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 3-9 p.m. daily

SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543 Library, Bookstore.
Friday forum—8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grant Blvd., Room 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone MAin 8919.

YOUNGSTOWN — 35½ South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX — NEW YORK, N. Y. — SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1947

GENERALS SPUR DRIVE TO MILITARIZE YOUTH

Diary of A Steel Worker

Winter Descends On The World

By Theodore Kovalesky

"The snow had begun in the gloaming,
And busily all through the night
Had been heaping field and highway
With a silence deep and white . . . "

That's one of the things they teach the kids in public school. I remember when I was a kid, I had to memorize it. But when you get on the subject of snow, there's a lot to be said. A lot of pictures come to mind.

For instance, here's a picture you must remember: The sky is gray, and the ground is gray. Snow is banked and heaped everywhere. The silence of dusk is broken only by the lonely sound of a metal sign hanging in front of a filling station near the tracks When the wind stirs, the sign swings and creaks dismally. At the side of this scene a railroad embankment stands, a long, narrow hill that goes on and on, out of the picture, out of the city into the gathering dusk. Along the top of this embankment is a scrambling, yelling gang of kids, trying to make a game out of the grim necessity of picking up enough stray fragments of coal for the broken-down stoves at home. But not all are kids. Here and there a woman plods through the snow, dragging a burlap sack, searching, searching for the black chunks that have fallen from the engines and tenders. They don't teach kids about these snow scenes in school . . . but they learn quickly enough after hours.

A miner told me of another incident concerning snow. Like most of the men of the pits, he went to work while still a child. I can't recall whether he said he was nine or eleven, or just what age, but I know that he was very young. Still, there were others even younger than he was, because he told me that when he used to go to work in the winter dark before dawn, a little child used to go with him. And when the snow was deep, my friend used to carry his little companion's lunch pail so it wouldn't drag in the snow. The child was so small, you see, and the drifts on the way to the collieries were so deep . . .

But these scenes hold little drama, little suffering, compared to the pictures even now in preparation in Europe. Imagine the street where the worker, Karl Schmidt and his family live: The snow has come again. Pavement and rooftops alike are blanketed with it. Karl and Hilda have moved the whole family into the kitchen to save heat. For one thing, nobody ever fixed the tear in the parlor walls where the bomb fragments ripped through it a couple of years ago. Besides, even without the holes in the walls, it would still cost too much to keep the whole place warm. Now the mattresses are piled together in the corner during the day, and at night are spread near the stove.

But winter is so hard! Little Hans has no clothing to wear out in the snow. And none of them can walk to the country any more to trade with the farmers or rummage through the woods in search of berries. Even the refuse of the streets is inaccessible, for Hans can no longer scurry about looking for things to use, things to trade, or to eat. And Karl, coming home from the factory, cannot find things any more, buried as they are under the snow.

Winter descends upon the upper half of the world, victorious imperialist America with its falling standard of living, and defeated, agonized Europe, convulsed with disease and poverty. And each snowflake adds to the misery of the poor.

The Negro Struggle

The Republican Promises

By William E. Bohannon

Immediately after the Nov. 5 elections, I wrote in this column that the new Congress was going to prove how little difference there is between the two capitalist parties, and how little a capitalist politician's promises are worth. I stated that if anyone had any illusions about the new Republican majority in Congress, he wouldn't have them for long because "next January will tell the tale."

If anything, it seems that I was exaggerating. Even before New Year's Day and the assembly of the new Congress in Washington, it had already become as plain as Bilbo's corruptness that the Republicans were not going to deliver on their election promises.

The first open sign of this came in a speech delivered on Dec. 16 to the Atlanta Rotary Club by Republican Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. To a select Jim Crow audience, this most prominent Republican in Washington declared that the South had nothing to fear from the Republican program. "The Republicans like the people of the South," he said. "I think you can count on the good-will of the Republican Party."

Taft was not speaking to the South as a whole—he was speaking to its ruling class. That means he was not speaking to the Negroes or the poor whites. The Southern ruling class can count on the good will of the Republicans all right; which means that the Negroes and poor whites can't count on the Republicans at all.

Ten days later, two newspapermen of the **N. Y. Post** reported a conversation between Republican House Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Mass. and some Negro leaders—a conversation which shows exactly what Taft had in mind. According to this report Martin said he was sorry, but there just was not going to be any Fair Employment Practices Commission legislation passed in the new Congress. Maybe later on something might be done about the poll tax, but the FEPC was out, even though the Republican platform in 1944 promised such legislation.

Asked how come, Martin said that that was in 1944, and the Negro voters hadn't supported the Republicans that year, so all bets were off on that promise. Besides, the Republicans figured they still might need some Southern Democratic support on certain issues in the new Congress.

Of course the Republicans may still make a few gestures—perhaps in connection with Bilbo—to win votes among Negroes for 1948. But even before Congress got down to its dirty work, they had already proved that there is no important difference between them and the Democrats.

Which adds up to two things: 1. Instead of depending on the Republicans to pass the legislation we need, it is necessary to fight them just as hard as the Democrats. 2. The best way to fight them both is to join the labor movement in building an independent labor party. Failure for militant Negroes to recognize these facts would be as shortsighted as mourning the death of Talmadge.

A Scientific Blow At Jim Crow

By Grace Carlson

The other day I came across an article which should be required reading for every Southern Senator—and for every other Jim Crower! It is **New Evidence On the Learning Ability of the Negro** by Dr. Paul Witty of Northwestern University. But this very important scientific study is buried away in the little-known **Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology** for October, 1945.

Professor Witty quotes extensively from the almost completely unknown publication by Brigadier Gen. Arthur Trudeau, **Army Experience and the Problem of Negro Education.** This is a report on the Army educational program for recruits who were unable to read and write English. It covers a 17-month period of Special Training Unit experience in 1943-44.

The big majority of the white and colored soldiers assigned to the Special Training Units were from the rural and mountainous districts of the South and Southwest. In these areas, little attention is paid to school attendance regulations and illiteracy is a common thing. Many Negro soldiers from the big Southern cities were also found to be illiterate. They were the victims of the poverty-stricken Jim-Crow schools and the tragically-poor tenement homes in the Negro slum areas of the South.

In the country as a whole, the average Negro citizen has had only 5.7 years of schooling according to the 1940 census. This is in contrast to the 8.8 years of schooling reported for the average native white citizen. Professor Witty cites these facts as an explanation for the fact that eight times as many Negroes as whites were classified in Grade V (lowest mental classification) upon their induction in the Army.

Like all other mental tests, the Army General Classification Test is supposed to measure sheer native intelligence. The facts are, however, that individuals who have not had normal educational and cultural opportunities will rank below average on intelligence tests.

But the big majority of the low-ranking Negro soldiers who were given an opportunity for class work in the Special Training Units showed that they had the ability to learn. Records of the Special Training Units showed that 87.1 per cent of Negro soldiers completed the course successfully and were assigned to regular Army training. Only 84.2 per cent of the white soldiers in the Special Training Units completed the course successfully.

After a study of these results, Professor Witty concludes: 'These findings may be regarded as having an important bearing upon the controversy concerning the intelligence of the American Negro. Many students hold that the ability to learn new materials constitutes the best criterion of intelligence and that a situation which tests the individual's progress in learning is a far better measure of intelligence . . . "

Notes of a Seaman

The 'Committee For Maritime Unity'

By C. Thomas

Recent developments in maritime highlight the superiority of the Marxist method of analysis. This is as true in the field of trade union tactics as in the realm of political theory.

While every other tendency in the labor movement is subject to the pressure of forces they do not understand, the Trotskyists proceed on the basis of a scientific theory which provides the key to an understanding of the motive forces at work within a given society.

While others are compelled to veer and tack with every passing wind we are able to steer a true course from the very beginning. Thus, when the Stalinists first proposed to organize a "committee for maritime unity" we were able to peg it for what it was — a fake! First, the origin of the project made it suspect. The Stalinists have split more unions in the name of "unity" than any other gang of disrupters in the labor movement.

Second, it was obviously utopian to expect unions which had been engaged in bitter struggle for years to make a sudden leap into each other's arms like lovers who have quarrelled and made up.

Third, it was hypocritical to propose that unions which had fought Stalinism tooth and nail should agree to an organizational setup which would place them under the control of notorious Stalinist hacks.

On the basis of our analysis we were able to conclude that the CMU was not a move toward unifying the maritime unions but a long step toward deepening and sharpening the jurisdictional conflicts.

Against the fake "unity" proposal of the Stalinists we advanced the slogan of joint action of all maritime unions on the basis of specific issues. We pointed out that in the course of such joint action the mutual distrust and suspicion that now exists could be broken down and the foundation for a genuine unification laid.

In addition, we proposed that jurisdictional disputes be arbitrated through the machinery of the organized labor movement to avoid open outbreaks that could play into the hands of the employers.

What we foresaw in the beginning Curran and others are coming to realize only on the basis of bitter experience.

Honor Tresca At Two Rallies On January 11

NEW YORK, Dec. 30—The still-unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca will be commemorated here by two meetings on Jan. 11, fourth anniversary of his death. Plans announced by the Tresca Memorial Committee include a first meeting at one p.m. at Fifth Ave. and 15th St., where Tresca was shot down. If weather forces a change in plans, the meeting will move to Rand School Auditorium.

Regardless of weather, a second meeting will be held at 9:40 p.m., the exact time of the slaying, when close friends of the murdered anti-fascist will honor him by dropping red carnations where he fell.

The Tresca Memorial Committee is demanding a new inquiry into the case, asking that police "re-appraise and re-check all clues." For four years, city and state officials have shown indifference to this political murder of a famous labor figure

"It is important that people in the streets be reminded of that, as well as for Carlo's friends to protest against official neglect," a recent Committee statement said.

FOUGHT REACTION

Carlo Tresca, editor of the Italian language paper **Il Martello** (The Hammer), had powerful and ruthless enemies, fascist and Stalinist. He was a militant, tireless opponent of reaction in all parts of the world. One of his last activities was to support the Civil Rights Defense Committee which aided the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941.

Tresca had been a dynamic strike leader in the years before the First World War, well-known in the textile mills of Paterson and Lawrence and on the iron range of Minnesota, where he won the love of thousands of workers.

Mourn Justus Ebert — Devoted Labor Fighter

NEW YORK, Dec. 30—Informal funeral services for Justus Ebert, 77, for 20 years editor of the Lithographers' **Journal,** were held here last Saturday afternoon. The veteran socialist died of a heart condition in St. Vincent's hospital late on Christmas Day, after a brief illness. Tributes were paid to him at the funeral by friends and old associates in the labor and liberal movements.

Ebert was born in New York City in 1869, son of a former mayor of Mannheim, Germany. As a boy, Justus attended Trinity Church Sunday School, but quit it after a short time "because," as he said afterward, "there was too much talk of hellfire there," and he didn't think that human beings, and especially his father, were as bad as they were pictured then in that church.

He worked as a newsboy, in a lapidary shop and in a glass-blowing shop. At 17 he did his first writing, in a humorous vein, for the old **New York Courier.**

Late in his twenties, he became assistant editor of the Socialist Labor Party's official organ, the New York **Daily People,** under Daniel De Leon. He held that job from 1901 to 1907, when he became an active writer for the Industrial Workers of the World, which had been formed in Chicago in 1905.

In 1912-13 he attracted wide attention through his publicity work for the defense of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, IWW organizers framed-up on charges of "inciting violence" which resulted in the killing of Anna Lo Pizzo, a girl worker, in the famous American Woolen Company strike in Lawrence, Mass. Both were acquitted when it was shown that the girl had been killed by a policeman's bullet.

As that trial approached, thousands of workers in New York and other cities held protest meetings and marches against the frame-up. Eugene V. Debs and Carlo Tresca, long friends of Ebert, were also active in arranging those demonstrations.

Ebert was the author of books including **The Trial of a New Society,** history of the Ettor-Giovannitti case; **American Industrial Evolution; From Frontier to Factory; Trade Unions in the United States, 1942 to 1905;** a pamphlet translated into many languages and circulated in many countries, **The IWW in Theory and Practice; What is the IWW Preamble?** and other pamphlets.

In 1922-24, Ebert was editor of two IWW publications issued in Chicago, the weekly **Industrial Solidarity** and the monthly **Industrial Pioneer.** In later years he was a member of the Socialist Party, of the League for Mutual Aid Executive Board, and of the Workers Defense League National Advisory Board.

From the very first, both he and his wife, Jennie Carliph, as members of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, threw themselves wholeheartedly into the historic fight against the Moscow trial frame-ups of Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks. Similarly, when Roosevelt framed up and railroaded to prison 18 leaders of the SWP, they gave active support to the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which conducted their defense.

There was not a single important struggle in defense of labor's rights in the 20th century United States, which did not include Comrade Ebert in its ranks. During his lifetime he aided hundreds of class war prisoners and thousands of workers who made their way to his office for help. He was rightly esteemed by all who knew him as one of the noblest and most devoted figures of the American labor movement.

Capitalist Liberals Set Up New Political Organization

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 — A new political organization, the Progressive Citizens of America, was formed here yesterday at a two-day conference which brought the merger of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and eight other smaller groups. The new organization claims a membership of about 100,000 in 21 states.

The PCA criticized the Democratic Party along the lines of Henry Wallace, but refused to break with it. "It is not clear now whether this party will recover its progressive tradition or surrender to its own brand of ignorance and bigotry," says the PCA preamble.

This means that the PCA will join Wallace in trying to keep the labor movement tied to the Democratic Party, in the hope of capturing and reforming it.

A GESTURE

But at the same time, the PCA leaders understand that there is strong sentiment growing for a labor party, and that some gestures in this direction are required if the PCA is to win or keep influence among the masses already disgusted with both capitalist parties. So the PCA preamble declares:

"If the Democratic Party woos privilege and betrays the people, it will die and deserve to die. We cannot, therefore, rule out the possibility of a new political party, whose fidelity to our goals can be relied upon."

This means that if the workers actually go ahead to create a labor party, despite the efforts of the PCA to keep them tangled up in the Democratic Party, then the PCA will go along with the new party, offering it "leadership," and trying to water down its program and prevent the workers from having the dominant voice in it.

For leadership in the formation of a labor party, the workers will have to look in their own ranks. The Wallaces and La Guardias, the liberal capitalist politicians who label themselves as progressives, have no intention of helping them in this task. On the contrary, all their efforts are aimed at preventing it by persuading the workers to remain in the trap of the capitalist parties.

However, these efforts, including the formation of the PCA, show how well the capitalist politicians understand that conditions are ripe for the formation of a labor party.

NEW YORK

Marxist Labor School

A series of 3 lectures on

"American Imperialism in Latin America, Asia And Europe"

Monday Evenings, 8 p.m.

Jan. 13—Yankee Dollars and Guns in Latin America
Jan. 20—Wall Street Reaches for Asia
Jan. 27—Washington vs. Moscow in Europe

Speaker: CHARLES CORNELL

N. Y. Organizational Secy., Socialist Workers Party

116 University Place

War Department's Pamphlet Envisages A New Slaughter

When Truman appointed a "committee on Universal Military Training" Dec. 20 to go over plans for regimenting America's youth, he made a speech in which he said, "I want that word military left out."

The word was left out. Exactly nine days later on Dec. 29, the War Department opened a high-pressure campaign for Universal Training with the word "Military" definitely included. Timing its drive with the opening of Congress, the Public Relations Division of the War Department released a pamphlet — printed at public expense — demanding that America's youth be subjected to a year of military drill.

BRAZEN ATTEMPT

The pamphlet is a bare-faced, brazen attempt to defend conversion of America into a huge militaristic camp on the hated Prussian model.

It lists some of the objections to Wall Street's military designs on American youth and tries to answer them. To the question, "Whom do we expect to fight?" the pamphlet cynically responds: "Remember Pearl Harbor, where the aggressor was a former ally."

The pamphlet leaves to the reader's imagination which of Wall Street's present allies the War Department is preparing its blueprints for. But the capitalist press picked up where the War Department's publicity department left off. The **N. Y. Times,** for instance, carefully alluded to the "balance-of-power struggle between Soviet Russia and the Western nations."

Clearly Wall Street views the Soviet Union as the prospective "enemy" in the Third World War for which it is now getting ready.

In a further obvious reference to the Soviet Union, the pamphlet declares: "Aggressor nations undertake in advance, or early after war begins, to push their own lines into buffer countries, thus keeping the main action in enemy territory, or at least beyond their own boundaries."

U.S. AGGRESSOR

According to this definition, the United States is the most powerful "aggressor" nation, since Wall Street has troops stationed all around the earth from Germany and Italy to Korea and China. American militarists want universal military training to provide a vast reservoir of manpower to feed the lines now being pushed into "buffer countries" in advance of the next slaughter.

The pamphlet contemptuously dismisses the argument that the United Nations can bring lasting peace. The Brass Hats understand as well as any of Wall Street's inner circle that the United Nations is nothing but a masquerade like the old League of Nations. They know the UN will go the same way the League did.

They know the Second World War did nothing but pave the way for a still more frightful slaughter. They want to get busy training the cannon-fodder now.

Police Maul Pickets

Members of the Philadelphia-Camden Newspaper Guild, CIO, are still solidly on strike, despite scenes like this. Here cops are assaulting strikers, and helping the goons of the "Philadelphia Record" to try to break the picket line. More than a dozen strikers were injured as scabs drove trucks right through the picket lines. Federated Picture

Threat Of Bribery Exposure Slackens Drive To Oust Bilbo

Bilbo's threats to expose the connections between other Senators and war contractors if a serious attempt is made to bar him from taking his seat appear to have impressed the Republicans. Their election campaign promises to do something about this acknowledged member of the Ku Klux Klan have undergone considerable modification.

Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, one of Bilbo's fellow Democrats, declared "The Man" is digging up some "embarrassing" questions to throw at any Senators who seek to throw him out for accepting bribes from war contractors.

The Republican strategists have consequently announced they will permit Bilbo to be seated. Once in the Senate, Bilbo could not be ousted for taking bribes, except by a two-thirds vote. Even if all the Republicans for publicity purposes voted against him, enough Democrats would remain to ensure his retaining his seat.

A simple majority vote would be sufficient to oust Bilbo on any charge connected with his incitements to lynch violence in the Mississippi elections. But the Republicans do not want to raise this issue. Most of them see eye-to-eye with Bilbo on race questions. Moreover, they are anxious not to incur the enmity of the Southern Bourbon Senators who gained office through means similar to those used by Bilbo.

As Senator Elmer Thomas explained: "Bilbo did nothing that almost every other politician in Mississippi hasn't done."

The Republicans clearly understand that ousting Bilbo for his election activities would hearten the Negro people throughout the South. They would be encouraged to fight more militantly and energetically for their democratic rights. A breach in the election system of the Bourbon South could start a move that would not end until all the reactionaries from the deep South were replaced by men who really represent the oppressed Negro and poor whites.

For these reasons the Republicans will not do anything about Bilbo's worst crimes and are now inclined to go easy on his acceptance of bribes from war contractors.